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ART. I.—THE SUNDAY SCHOOL IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE CHURCH.

The American Sunday School and its Adjuncts, by JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D.D.
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A CERTAIN general of antiquity demanded of the Spartans, after a battle, fifty children as hostages. They offered him instead fifty men of years and distinction. In their eyes, fifty children, capable of training for the public service, were of more value to the state than the same number even of eminent and worthy citizens. Yet the Spartan discipline aimed at nothing higher than earthly ends. It was a stern and severe *drill*, beginning with the earliest infancy, and tending to make the body elastic, vigorous, and firm to the last degree. For the mind and heart it cared nothing. A young man who could neither read nor write might yet be the flower of Spartan youth, if he could hurl the discus further than his fellows, or wield the javelin with more vigor and grace; or if he could endure without a groan the savage discipline of the lash, inflicted, not in punishment, but as a test of honor, and with all the sanctions of religion, before the altars of the gods.

Nor was the Athenian culture, with all its boasted superiority of refinement, intrinsically better. It was an intellectual discipline, to be sure, and, as such, in many respects superior to our own; but it took little heed of the *spiritual* nature, and left the culture of the heart to accidental agencies to a great extent. The Persians, more, perhaps, than any other nation of antiquity, took pains to implant moral principles in the minds of children; yet even their morality was of the earth, earthy. It sought rather the advantages of virtue than its beauty.

It was, as might be expected, among that chosen people whom God selected as the depositary of his truth, that we find the earliest

recognition of the duty and necessity of a strictly religious teaching of children. Nor was this the fruit of any superior wisdom or philosophy of theirs, but of the direct command of God. It was when they were gathered before the Lord in Horeb, under the "mountain that burned with fire unto the midst of heaven, with darkness and clouds and thick darkness," that the Lord said unto Moses, "Gather me the people together, and I will make them hear my words, that they may learn to fear me, *and that they may teach their children.*" And in declaring to the people the ceremonial law, Moses repeatedly laid upon them the injunction, "Thou shalt teach these statutes diligently *unto thy children*, speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up."

To this day the Jew obeys this law with strict fidelity, and to this day its fruits are seen. Find the Jew where we may, and under what form of civilization soever, in Republican America, or under the most crushing despotism of the East; in the midst of Christian schools, or amid the savage and ignorant rovers of the desert; whether he be rich enough, like a Rothschild, to command the politics of the world, or poor as the meanest peddler that offers his wares at your door, you will still find him *taught in "the statutes, commandments, and judgments"* which the Lord God gave unto Moses. And this teaching, grained into the very texture of the Jew's mind and life from his infancy, is, in most cases, proof against all influences from without. Men talk of the spirit of the age as overpowering all early impressions, whether prejudices or other, but the spirit of the age cannot touch the Jew; its vast waves surge against him only to be broken into foam by the breakwater of early teaching that effectually guards him, as if in a charmed circle.

It is not at all necessary to prove that the law given by Moses to the Hebrews is still binding, and that, too, in a far higher degree, upon the disciples of the great Teacher who, in person upon the earth, repeatedly testified to his great love for children. To bring up the young in the "nurture and admonition of the Lord" is a common obligation, confessed by all who name the name of Christ. The second chapter of Dr. Alexander's admirable treatise named at the head of this article is, "Children intrusted to us to be trained for God and our Country;" and in it he draws the following argument, in regard to this large and important portion of the race, from their relation to us as parents:

"Regard for children and children's children is proper to humanity and is strengthened by true religion; as when the Psalmist prays 'that our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth; that our daughters may be as corner-

stones, polished after the similitude of a palace.'—Psalm cxliv, 12. If all be right with our sons and daughters, there need be no fear for the United States. The greatest blessing we can confer on the commonwealth, is to leave behind us a generation of right-minded youth. If it is trite, it is nevertheless important enough to bear a thousandfold repetition and inculcation, that well-trained youth are the hope not only of our nation, but of all nations. In this era of highways, commerce, telegraphs, and the press, all nations are in certain great respects tending to be one. The rising race is the hope of the coming peoples of the earth. After hearing and saying this for years, we feel it more than ever, when, turning to our own children, we see in them the hope of mankind. I have always regarded these parental sensibilities as affording one of the readiest means of entrance to the affections of Christian people for the purpose of marshaling them in behalf of education and the country. The genuine citadel of Christian education is the heart of parents; and there is no parent who does not exercise incalculable power. He who has children, wards, or pupils, or any whom he may mold or shape, need never complain that his sphere of influence is small, or that he has no means of leaving his mark on the coming age. As well might a man lament that he had no share in the hydraulic power of a district who should sit on the top of a mountain to guide by his hand the spring that was presently to become the propelling river of a thousand manufactures.

"The Scriptures rank it among the blackest sins to be *without natural affection*. It is one of the crimes which even the heathen and the infidel are ashamed of, and which is rebuked by the very beasts. But no words can at all express the profound anxieties of pious parents for their children. When one comes to experience these anxieties, he is surprised. Having been told a thousand times how it would be, he now for the first time knows what it is to believe it. He has knowledge of it. He recalls the incredulity and wonder with which, when a boy, he regarded his parents in respect to this solicitude, and how repeatedly he put that unknown sensibility to the test. How often did he inflict immeasurable wounds on those hearts, which, now that he has become a parent himself, he begins first to comprehend! His soul is now bound up in those whom God is giving him. Or, if we turn our eye to her who is pre-eminently the parent, if one can earn the title by intensity of pain and love, the mother has a tenderness toward her offspring which she has long since concluded to bury in silence, or utter only in prayers, since she well knows no language of hers can ever express it.

"What a mercy it is that our God has been pleased to make much of religion consist in these very feelings, and to open a channel for these unutterable emotions! Do not wonder, therefore, that, with unusual confidence, I propose to the reader a modification of what was discussed before: **OUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS ARE TO BE TRAINED FOR CHRIST AND FOR THE COUNTRY.**"

—Pp. 50-54.

The modern Sunday school aims to discharge, to a certain extent, this function of the religious training of children. It has attained vast proportions, and has interwoven itself most intimately with the framework of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We name our own church especially, because there is no other, we believe, which has so distinctly recognized the Sunday school in its legislation, and has so closely incorporated it with the whole system of its ecclesiastical and pastoral work. There is still, we think, even among ourselves, some confusion of thought as to the true scope of the Sunday school, and its proper relations to the life and working of the Church. On

this point, if possible, we should arrive at entire clearness of view. Our duties to the system cannot be fully apprehended if we have no well-defined theory of its nature.

A brief survey of the history of Sunday schools in the modern church will go far toward the settlement of these questions. The first institution of schools deserving of the name, seems to be due to Cardinal Borromeo, the eminent Archbishop of Milan—eminent, in an age of spiritual strife and in the bosom of a corrupt church, for his personal piety and for his religious zeal. He was born 1538, and died 1584. His efforts to reform the monastic orders, which nearly cost him his life from the fury of a fanatical monk, do not form so brilliant a page in his history as his devotion to the training of the neglected children of Milan. He gathered them by thousands into the vast cathedral on each Sunday, divided them into classes, assigning teachers to each, and directing the catechetical instruction himself. These schools still remain, though little is taught in them but the Roman catechism and lessons concerning the worship of saints and of the Virgin. Whether such schools were widely diffused among the Romanists in that century we do not know. Southey remarks in his autobiography, that they are “noticed in an ordinance of Albert and Isabel, in 1608, as then existing in the Catholic Netherlands, the magistrates being enjoined to see to their establishment and support in all places where they were not yet set on foot.”

It appears that the first Sunday schools in the Protestant Church sprung up in New-England. Ellis, in his History of Roxbury, says that, “In 1658, the church at Roxbury had voted, ‘that infants, either of whose immediate parents are in church covenant, do confederate in their parents, and, therefore, are members of the church, and ye Church ought to take care that they be duly instructed in the grounds of religion, and be trained up under ye tuition of ordinances.’” And further, that “in 1674, 6th, 11th month, is the first record of a Sabbath school.” The record was as follows: “This day we restored a primitive practice for restraining up of our youth: 1st. That the male youth (in fitting season) stay, every Sabbath after morning exercise, and the elders examine their remembrance in every part of the catechism: 2. That the female youth should meet in one place, and that their elders examine their remembrance in the catechism, and whatever else may convene.” The next date in the history is that of a Sunday school commenced by Ludwig Thacker, in Ephrata, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, as early as the year 1750, and which was kept up for many years. There were probably many isolated cases of the kind of which no record is preserved; but, whatever may have been done by indi-

viduals, it is clear that there was not, before the year 1780, anything like a general system of Sunday schools either in England or America. It is equally clear that within a few years after that date they sprung up in all directions, and on both sides of the Atlantic. The honor of originating this movement is due, by universal consent, to Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, England. The history of his labors has been so often given, that we shall only quote from a letter of his, dated June 5, 1784, the following simple and natural account of the beginnings of this movement:

"The utility of an establishment of this sort was first suggested by a group of little miserable wretches, whom I observed one day in the street, where many people employed in the pin manufactory reside.

"I was expressing my concern to one, at their forlorn and neglected state; and was told, that if I were to pass through that street upon Sundays, it would shock me, indeed, to see the crowds of children who were spending that sacred day in noise and riot, to the extreme annoyance of all decent people.

"I immediately determined to make some little effort to remedy the evil. Having found four persons, who had been accustomed to instruct children in reading, I engaged to pay the sum they required for receiving and instructing such children as I should send to them every Sunday. The children were to come soon after ten in the morning, and stay till twelve; they were then to go home and return at one; and after reading a lesson, they were to be conducted to church. After church they were to be employed in repeating the catechism till half after five, and then to be dismissed, with an injunction to go home without making a noise, and by no means to play in the street. This was the general outline of the regulations."

On Mr. Raikes's first plan, the schools were taught by hired teachers, and their object was chiefly to teach the rudiments of common education to the children of the poor. The introduction of gratuitous instruction is due to John Wesley, who established these schools among his people in 1785, exhorting them "to engage in the work for conscience' and not for lucre's sake," and making religious instruction the paramount consideration. From the beginning he saw the spiritual side of the movement; even in 1784, we find in his Journal (under head of July 18) a single fragrant sentence which contains the whole theory of the modern Sunday school in its relation to the Church: "I find these schools springing up wherever I go. Perhaps God may have a deeper end therein than men are aware of. Who knows but some of these schools may become nurseries for Christians?" This was written with reference to a Church school in Bingley, the year before Mr. Wesley commenced the organization of the system in his own societies; when he did begin, it was with the determination that *all* his schools should be "nurseries for Christians."

The introduction of Sunday schools into America, in an efficient form, is due to Francis Asbury, first bishop of the Methodist Epis-

copal Church, a man whose labors for the evangelization and civilization of this country are among the marvels of Christian history. In 1786, he established a Sunday school in Hanover, Virginia, which was the parent of a multitude. It is clear from a statement in Bishop Asbury's Journal, (vol. ii, p. 65,) that he set up such schools in many other parts of the country about the same time. So far as we can learn, no other denomination of Christians shared the labors or the reproach of this enterprise at that early period. Reproach there was, and it often took the severe form of persecution. In 1787, George Daughaday, a Methodist preacher in Charleston, S. C., was drenched with water pumped from a public cistern "for the crime of conducting a Sunday school for the benefit of the African children of that vicinity." Nothing daunted by such rebukes, the pioneers of Methodism went on with their work. The Minutes of 1790 contain the first act of *Church* legislation on the subject known, perhaps, either in Europe or America; showing that in this, as in many other things, our fathers were far in advance of their time in Christian zeal and practical wisdom :

"*Quest.* What can be done in order to instruct poor children, white and black, to read ?

"*Ans.* Let us labor, as the heart and soul of one man, to establish **SUNDAY SCHOOL** in or near the place of public worship. Let persons be appointed by the bishops, elders, deacons, or preachers, to teach, *gratis*, all that will attend and have a capacity to learn, from six o'clock in the morning till ten, and from two o'clock in the afternoon till six, where it does not interfere with public worship. The council shall compile a proper school-book, to teach them learning and piety."

The path opened by the Methodists was soon entered by other laborers. In December, 1790, a meeting was held in the city of Philadelphia, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the establishment of Sunday schools for that city." On the 26th of that month, a constitution was adopted for the "First Day or Sunday School Society." On the 11th of January, 1791, the officers of the society were elected; and in March of the same year, their first school was opened for the admission of children. If we are rightly informed, these schools were taught by paid teachers, and were devoted exclusively to the instruction of poor children. It was not until 1816 that the system of unpaid teaching was introduced by the Philadelphia society. This valuable organization was the parent of the American Sunday-school Union. In the mean time the Methodist schools were going on under the gratuitous system; and in the notes to the Discipline of 1796, the bishops urge the "people in cities, towns, and villages, to establish Sunday schools, wherever practicable, for the benefit of the children of the poor."

It is obvious, that in the beginning of the system, and for many years after, the idea of the institution was restricted to the teaching of *poor* children to read, in order that they might learn the Scriptures and be brought within the sphere of Christian influence. It does not seem to have formed any part of the plan that the children of pious members of the Church should be placed in these schools. Gradually and imperceptibly, the scope of the Sunday school has been enlarged. There are at this day more than half a million Sunday-school teachers, and three and a half million of scholars, in the United States; and of this vast host, more than one fifth are within the pale of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In these schools are gathered, Sunday after Sunday, not merely the children of poverty in their rags and nakedness, but the most favored children of the Church, the cherished fondlings of wealthy parents; often, perhaps too often, "arrayed in purple and fine linen." Such is the phenomenon which the Sunday schools of this age present. The fact is an established one, that the children of the best Christians in the land, as well as the poorest outcasts, are trained in these schools.

The charge has been made that the system has deviated from its proper course, and that it should never have undertaken any task but that of training such children as cannot enjoy good parental or home care. Is this true? Has the Sunday school institution, like some other human applications of the Church's power, gradually built up the enormous fabric that we see, so stately, and apparently so strong, and yet is it without a firm and safe foundation?

Our answer to this question is at hand. The rapid historical sketch just given, shows amply that the present scope of the Sunday school is far wider than its original design. The change is admitted: but, in our view, it is a development and not a corruption. In this case, as in the origin of Methodism, and in many of the greatest movements of the Christian Church, the end was not foreseen from the beginning. But this, as Neander strikingly says,* is precisely "the characteristic of the greatest achievements of great men in behalf of humanity. They do not work by plans previously arranged and digested. On the contrary, such men are generally unconscious instruments, working out God's purposes, before the fruits of their labors appear to their own eyes. The work is greater than the workmen: they have no distinct anticipations of the results that are to follow." Instead, therefore, of regarding the present position of the Sunday school as a false and anomalous one, we see in it the agency of a Divine hand. We recognize it as an instrument of the Church,

* *Life of Christ*, p. 79.

acting in the two-fold capacity of a conservative and aggressive power; or, in the first, as auxiliary to the pastoral function; in the second, as auxiliary to the missionary function. We consider it, in these aspects, not as a mere accident in the Church's history; not as a merely temporary expedient, to be used for the accomplishment of certain ends, and then to be laid aside; but as an essential part of the existing life and activity of the Church. The Sunday school system is not a mere tool in the hands of the Church; but a limb, that can never, hereafter, be lopped off without maiming her.

In the Methodist Episcopal Church this is pre-eminently the case; and she has always seemed, with a swift instinct, or—to speak more truly as well as more religiously—under the guidance of Divine Providence, to regard the enterprise in this light, even from the beginning. Methodism has always been stronger upon the aggressive than upon the conservative side. Her mission has impelled her to constant attacks upon the strongholds of Satan, to uninterrupted efforts for the spread of her borders, to all sorts of pioneer labors; and nobly has she fulfilled this grand function in modern Christendom. Her itinerary is specially adapted to this missionary work; flexible, elastic, vigorous, and active, it has been the greatest instrument of Christian propagandism at work in these later ages. As such it needs no praise of ours. Its monuments are in all the earth; its victories are celebrated by innumerable bands in heaven. But there is one function to which the itinerant system is not adapted, and that is *continuous* pastoral instruction and guidance of the people. The minister who is stationed but two years in a place, may, indeed, during his term of service, faithfully and successfully discharge the pastoral duties of the time; but he cannot go beyond it. Another follows him; perhaps equally zealous, faithful, and diligent, and with different ideas of the detail of pastoral labors, and with different modes of working. It is plain that under this system the continuous training of the children of the Church, from early youth to manhood and onward in life, cannot be carried on by the minister.

But the function is not wanting in Methodism; on the contrary, it is, perhaps, better provided for than in any other branch of the Church. The class-meeting, which, like the Sunday school, began with little or no provision of its ultimate religious uses, fills up the gap fully, so far as the adult members of the Church are concerned. The leaders are sub-pastors, permanently connected with the congregation, and each attending to the care of that portion of the flock committed to his charge, with a minuteness of observation that the ablest and most diligent pastor could never compass with a large membership.

From year to year he meets his little band, knowing them intimately, learning all their forms of thought, and feeling, and life, and keeping pace with the growth of their religious experience, it may be, from youth to hoary hairs. So far, then, as the adult membership of the Church is concerned, the class-meeting is, in theory at least, the perfect supplement of the itinerancy, in the fulfillment of pastoral labor. And just in proportion to the efficiency of the one, will generally be found the success and reputation of the other. When the classes are fully attended, and the religious life of the membership is kept at its normal point of heat thereby, it will be found that the itinerancy is valued for its immense power as an instrument of aggression, and its inconveniences are gladly endured for the sake of its advantages. On the other hand, in those parts of the country and in those separate congregations in which the itinerancy is beginning to lose favor, and voices are to be heard, here and there at least, prophesying its speedy decay and dissolution, we think it will generally be found, also, that class-meetings have more or less fallen into disuse. When this is the case, the need of a more direct and continuous pastoral service from the ministers begins very soon, and of necessity, to be felt; unless, indeed, the people are so far gone in worldliness as to be careless about such influences in any form. A permanent ministerial pastorate is essential to all Churches in which the class-meeting does not exist.

But, admitting the class-meeting to be alive and vigorous, bringing its fruits of blessing into the circle of the church's adult membership continually, there is still a want left unsupplied. The children of the Church, in their tender years, are not fit subjects for the class-meeting, as regularly constituted; yet the same preacher can only train them, if he does his full duty, for two years. But here again, and more completely, there is a need of continuous and systematic culture. It is precisely this gap that is filled by the Sunday school; supplementing, for the children, as the class-meeting does for adults, the pastoral work of the preacher.

Still, there are some who doubt whether this work can or ought to be done in the Sunday school. Let us look at the question a little more closely. That the children of pious parents are to be *taught* religion all admit. Theirs is the very age for education—one may say, indeed, the only age. Richter says, (perhaps too strongly,) that the "educators of childhood are angels of good or evil, who open or close the gates of heaven for the young soul. Childhood is the age of faith—of humble, genial trustfulness. The little heart opens fearlessly to those about it; believes everything that is taught it; holds its parents and teachers for infallible." Illustrations

of this truth might be multiplied in abundance; but there is no need. It is more to our purpose to inquire where, and how, the religious training of the young mind should be imparted. In the first instance this duty devolves, unquestionably, upon the parents; and the obligation is not transferable. In the earliest years, (and these are the most important of all for developing the moral nature,) no other than home education is physically possible. The Sunday must have its lessons, even for that early age, but they are lessons learned from the eye, the lips, the movements of father, mother, brothers, and sisters at home. There, and from them, the neophyte of eternity is receiving his first impressions. Nor, even in later years, is the transfer *morally* possible, for parents who have a conscience; nor is this transfer any part of our theory of the Sunday school system. If it were so, and necessarily, better disband our Sunday-school Union, shut up our school-rooms, and send teachers and children home.

On this point, again, we quote a few forcible words from Dr. Alexander:

"We are under obligations, as believers, to educate our children for the Lord; and in doing this we are to seize every opportunity, from their earliest years, to remind them that their names have been given to Christ, that they owe him allegiance, that they are enlisted in his army and are to fight under his colors. As they advance a little toward early youth, we are to renew and redouble these impressions, assuring them that they stand in a different relation to the Church from other young persons; that they can never destroy the providential connection except by rebellion or apostasy; and that every hour they live for the world they are robbing Christ of his own. This we should teach them; and, if we begin early and continue unremittingly, we shall certainly and fully escape that shyness in regard to religion which makes it harder for some parents to speak to their own children than to all persons besides. The great matter, however, which I urge, is the deliberate *intent* of the parent respecting the child's training. 'This child is Christ's; and for Christ's warfare have I entered him and am now rearing him. God grant that he may grow up as a young tree planted in the courts of the Lord! that she may shine as the brilliant corner-stone of the palace or the altar!"—Pp. 55, 56.

But, besides the home training, is no other necessary? Yes, it is said, the *pastor* must come in to re-enforce the parent's teachings with the catechism and the sermon. Here, too, we say, Amen! The pastor's duty is not transferable. At the bar of God, when he comes to answer how far he has obeyed Christ's command to "feed his lambs," he will not dare, in presence of the Judge, to plead as an excuse for any neglect that he had delegated this duty to the Sunday school. The Church has set forth this duty so clearly in her law that none can evade its force, (*Discipline, Pt. I, ch. ii, § 3:*)

"Quest. 3. What shall be done for the baptized children of our Church?

"Ans. 1. The preacher in charge shall preserve a full and accurate register

of the names of all the baptized children within his pastoral care; the dates of their birth, baptism, their parentage, and places of residence.

"Ans. 2. As early as they shall be able to understand, let them be taught the nature, design, and obligations of their baptism, and the truths of religion necessary to make them wise unto salvation; let them be encouraged to attend class, and to give regular attendance upon all the means of grace, according to their age, capacity, and religious experience.

"Ans. 3. Whenever they shall have attained an age sufficient to understand the obligations of religion, and shall give evidence of a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins, their names shall be enrolled in the list of probationers; and if they shall continue to give evidence of a principle and habit of piety, they may be admitted into full membership in our Church, on the recommendation of a leader with whom they have met at least six months in class, by publicly assenting before the Church to the baptismal covenant, and also the usual questions on doctrines and discipline.

"Ans. 4. Whenever a baptized child shall by orphanage, or otherwise, become deprived of Christian guardianship, the preacher in charge shall ascertain and report to the Leaders' Meeting the facts in the case; and such provision shall be made for the Christian training of the child as the circumstances of the case admit and require."

Again, it is made the duty of the minister (Discipline, Pt. I, ch. iv, § 11) "to publicly catechise the children in the Sunday school and at special meetings appointed for that purpose. It shall also be the duty of each preacher, in his report to each Quarterly Conference, to state to what extent he has publicly or privately catechised the children of his charge." And still again, (Pt. I, ch. vi, ans. 3,) it is made "the duty of every preacher in his pastoral visits to pay special attention to the children, speaking to them personally and kindly on the subject of experimental and practical godliness, according to their capacity, pray earnestly for them, and diligently instruct and exhort all parents to dedicate their children to the Lord in baptism as early as convenient." It will be noticed that these duties are quite apart from those which the preacher owes to the Sunday school as such, and which are treated of in another section of the Discipline. Our Church, therefore, does not contemplate any neglect of the children on the part of the ministry. If such neglect is to be the *necessary* result of the Sunday school system, let it, we say again, with all its vast capacities for good, with all its stupendous machinery of benevolence, be abolished at once!

But the system involves no such results. Indeed, it requires, for its efficient working, the preparatory and concurrent labors of both parents and pastors, and offers itself only as their adjunct and coadjutor. It promises, however, not only to aid them, but to do some things which they cannot do, or, at least, cannot do so well. It supplies, we have said, a want which is especially obvious in the Methodist economy; but we may extend the remark, and say, that it fills up also a gap in the organization of the modern Protestant

social system; nay, so far as we can judge, it was designed by Providence specifically for this end. That gap is the want of *schools for teaching religion*. Our religious social system is obviously incomplete without such schools. The day schools, whether private or public, cannot teach religion; they are not meant to do it; and whatever attention the best of them pay to the subject is always superficial and perfunctory. But shall our children spend five days in the week at school merely for intellectual culture, and not *one* for religious training? Shall there be schools of art, of science, of language, of commerce, but none of religion? In a Christian land, shall we say that there are seminaries for everything but Christianity?

On this broad ground, then, we vindicate the existence of the Sunday school as an institution for the training, not of outcasts, but of the children of the Church. It is a place in which the children are to be "gathered together," according to the Divine command, in regular and systematic instruction in religion. In *religion*, mark; for on no other ground can we rest our case. As schools of literature, the Sunday school occupies a very low place; no place at all, in fact, for as such they are unnecessary, and would be, indeed, un-Christian. The day of the Lord is desecrated by any other teaching than that of the things of the Lord. But when the children know that the whole aim of the school, the object of all its preparation of teachers, books, and lessons, is to instruct them in Divine things, the subject gets an importance in their eyes that could be attached to it in no other way. The same arguments that vindicate the assembling of adults for public instruction and worship apply in this case; the gathering together, the common prayer, the united singing, the sympathy of common lessons, all help to enlarge and to fix the impression that religion is a reality. Adults might read at home, but yet in addition they need the Church; so, too, the children might be taught at home, but they need the public teaching. That the Sabbath day should be devoted to this teaching is another element of its power. On this point Dr. Alexander remarks:

"Often has the poor man *felt*, though he could not *sing*, with 'Holy Herbert,'

'O day most sweet, most calm, most bright!
The *fruit* of this, the next world's *bud*;
Th' endorsement of supreme delight,
Writ by a Friend, and with his blood;
The couch of time, care's calm and bay!
The week were dark but for thy light;
Thy torch doth show the way.'

"These associations are lost on no one of the three classes of teachers, children, and parents. The very proximity of the Church, the nearness of Divine service, the sight of the great congregation, and diversified Sabbath relations,

so affect the little ones in particular, that we need not marvel that they sometimes learn more on the first day of the week than on all the other six. Therefore, in estimating the Sunday school, let us never forget the *day*.”—Pp. 91, 92.

In many Christian families, even where the best intentions prevail, regular and systematic instruction in religious literature is impossible. There are none so busy, none so ignorant, that they cannot pray with their children, and keep them from forming bad habits and vile associations; but there are many whose dayly labor leaves them no time to prepare lessons in the Scriptures, or whose early education has been so deficient that they are incompetent to the task. In the Sunday school there are teachers who make this a special duty and a peculiar study, and who are gathering continually for the work a wider experience and an apter capacity.

We might furnish many additional arguments in behalf of the Sunday school, considered on its conservative side, as a branch of the pastorate, and devoted to the well-being of the children of the Church. But enough has been said to vindicate our fundamental position, and to justify the legislation of our Church upon the subject. There is no part of our code of Church law to which we can point with greater pride and pleasure than to those which concern the religious training of children. One has been already cited; we now quote another, (*Discipline*, Pt. I, ch. vi:)

“*Ques.* 1. What shall we do for the moral and religious instruction of the children?

“*Ans.* 1. It shall be the special duty of preachers having charge of circuits or stations, with the aid of the other preachers, to form Sunday schools in all our congregations where ten children can be collected for that purpose, and to engage the co-operation of as many of our members as they can, to visit the schools as often as practicable, to preach on the subject of Sunday schools and religious instruction in each congregation at least once in six months, and to form Bible classes wherever they can for the instruction of larger children and youth; and where they cannot superintend them personally, to see that suitable teachers are provided for that purpose.

“*Ans.* 2. It shall also be the duty of preachers to enforce faithfully upon parents and Sunday school teachers the great importance of instructing children in the doctrines and duties of our holy religion, to see that our catechisms be used as extensively as possible both in our Sunday schools and families, to preach to the children, and publicly catechise them in the Sunday schools and at special meetings appointed for that purpose.

“*Ans.* 4. Each preacher in charge shall lay before the Quarterly Conference, (see part i, ch. iii, § 4, quest. 4, ans. 8,) to be entered on its Journal, the number and state of the Sunday schools and Bible classes in his charge, and the extent to which he has preached to the children and catechised them, and make the required report on Sunday schools to his annual conference.

“*Ans.* 5. It is recommended that each annual conference, where the general state of the work will allow, request the appointment of a special agent, to travel throughout its bounds, for the purpose of promoting the interests of Sunday schools; and his expenses shall be paid out of collections which he shall be directed to make, or otherwise, as shall be ordered by the conference.”

Let us turn now to the second aspect of the Sunday-school system, its aggressive and missionary function. Moses enjoined upon the people to teach the "stranger within their gates" as carefully as their own children; and we, too, recognize the obligation. This class includes, in a Christian land, all who are strangers to the Church and to religion, whether rich or poor. There is scope for the missionary labor of our Sunday school teachers, not merely in the huts of poverty, in the filthy lanes of our great cities, but in the homes of wealth and magnificence that adorn the grandest avenues. There is many a rich man, in the very bosom of our so-called Christian civilization, whose children, nursed in luxury, are growing up with almost as little knowledge of true religion as if they had been born in Caffraria. In our horror at the revelations occasionally made of the prevalence of crime in what we call the lower classes, we forget that there is almost as great a prevalence of vice among the upper. So, too, in the class of those who are neither rich nor poor, this missionary work can find objects, and, perhaps, readier access than at either extreme. With many of these there is absolutely no care of the souls of children. Their whole time is occupied in "getting and spending;" the strife, and care, and toil of every-day life leave them little opportunity and less disposition either to study the Scriptures themselves or to teach them to their children. For all such, the Sunday school, if they will but use it, is an incalculable blessing.

But as it is recorded to be the strongest proof of the divinity of our religion, that "the poor have the gospel preached unto them," so it is the crowning glory of the Sunday school system that it seeks out the children of wretchedness, and tries to throw a gleam of sunshine, at least, on their dark and dreary life. This, as has been remarked, was, in the outset, the only aim of the system; and a pure and noble aim it was; conceived in the spirit of that exquisite precept of Nehemiah for a day of festivity: "Eat the bread, and drink the sweet, and send portions unto them for whom nothing is prepared." And without settling the question which of these two elements, the conservative or the aggressive, ought to be held as chief, it will be perfectly safe to say that the Sunday-school system will have lost its main beauty as a charity, nay, it will have forfeited its character as a *charity* altogether, when this duty of gathering in the outcasts and teaching them the fear of the Lord is ignored, or even neglected.

A few years ago there appeared in the public papers, in the city of New-York, a document, which startled the better part of the population almost as much as would the revelation that the fires of an unspent and ripening volcano were gathering force and fury be-

neath their feet. It was a Report of the Chief of Police upon crime and destitution among children. A fearful record it was, with its hard, dry statement of facts, with no coloring of rhetoric, with almost no expression of sympathy, and thus all the more impressive in its fearful nakedness, as the bare skeleton terrifies more than the clothed corpse. A fearful record it was, of ignorance, profligacy, crime, and that, too, the ignorance, profligacy, and crime of *children*, even such as Christ declared were the elements of whose like the *kingdom of heaven* is made up! And what fearful anticipations did that record open, of thousands of young lives as surely doomed to misery, and shame, and despair, while they last, as they are doomed to be early quenched in unlamented death and in dishonored graves.

That the *root* of this evil can be reached, without some deeper inquiries into the nature of our social system, and, perhaps, sharper and more sweeping remedies than most men are prepared for as yet, we do not believe. Since that report was issued, the ladies of the Methodist Episcopal Church have established the "Five Points Mission," the history of which is a record of one of the most signal and splendid triumphs of Christian charity in modern times. In other quarters of the city, and in other cities, a vast deal has been done by the Sunday schools in the way of missionary labor among the outcasts; but as yet, the Church's work in this field has, we trust, only begun. Dr. Alexander has an excellent chapter on "The Sunday School Portrayed," from which we take the following extract:

"If the census be taken, the ignorance of the civic population will startle us most in regard of numbers. Great towns show their thousands who are utterly unlettered. New-York, Cincinnati, New-Orleans, Boston, have their spots of deep soil and rank growth, where the progeny of filth and misery spring up too fast for ordinary and established means, and where the spirit of Robert Raikes might come again to sigh over Sabbath profanation. The over-peopled tenements disgorge hordes on the Lord's day, but comparatively few to schools and churches. The tattered, squalid urchins—often already men and women in perverse acuteness—disperse themselves in streets and alleys, continue noisy sports, hang about wharves, ferries, markets, and open lots, or stroll to green fields, river-banks, and beer-gardens. Vast is the increasing levy made for these legions of citizens, who are, for the most part, ignorant and superstitious, if not profane and vicious. It is the fashion to ascribe all this evil surplus to Germany and Ireland: justice would force us to acknowledge that no more noxious importation has been made from any country than from England. If any one will consult Mr. Mayhew's 'London Labor and London Poor,' or Mr. Vanderkist's 'Dens of London,' he will learn how many thousands grow up almost as unchristian as Hottentots, within the sound of Bow Bells and under the great shadow of Saint Paul's. The police well know how many of this class add to our city and jail populations. The children of these are corrupt themselves, and corruptors of others. *As are the children of the present period, such will be the men and women of the next.* Unless blossoms of poison can mature into wholesome fruit, there is before us a time of new dangers and corruptions.

These are the people who brawl about the hustings; who stand out for high wages in strikes and trades-unions during warm seasons, in order to make themselves the paupers of the following winter; who foment bad blood between nation and nation, between religion and religion, between region and region, between class and class; the people, in a word, who endanger the peace and the very union of our commonwealth. If we can, let us figure to ourselves what may be expected ten years hence from the lad who is now the nocturnal runner to fires, or the prowler about the theater and circus, or the precocious haunter of drinking-places, or the beguiled Sunday news-boy. Let us seriously ask, what sort of citizens and Christians those myriads will ripen into, who attend no religious worship. . . . It is my solemn belief that in the absence of day-schools which shall teach the way of salvation—and for our purpose it matters not whether national or ecclesiastical—there is no way to reach these masses but the **SUNDAY SCHOOL**. By its two-fold machinery of **ORAL LESSONS** and **BOOKS**, this institution goes so deeply to work that for its triumph it needs only the thorough carrying out of its principles.

"In the immediate vicinity of the localities of darkness and degradation already alluded to, God has providentially gathered Christian Churches, the members of which have abundance of leisure, intelligence, and wealth. In these churches are young men and young women, professing faith and 'apt to teach.' Does not the truth flash with conviction on every such person, as he reads these lines, *I am the very laborer on whom God calls?*"—Pp. 103-107.

We cannot forbear quoting another passage, illustrating the value of Sunday schools in a political and national point of view:

"It is greatly to be lamented that statesmen and legislators, who are sometimes philanthropists, do not oftener condescend to look into the working of certain humble schemes, which they, from a distant and erroneous view, discard as methodistical or enthusiastic, or even fanatic. The operation of religion in abating social nuisances is best studied on small scale; as, for instance, in a single neighborhood. We should be willing to stake the question upon a fair examination of what has been wrought by the Wesleyans in certain well-known districts in England, or by the Irish missions in Connemara. So far as the experiment has gone, the same may be shown in regard to seamen by labors under the Bethel flag and to slaves on the plantations. But the whole history of Sunday school progress is an argument to this very point. A single family, there are ten thousand such, regenerated by God's blessing on the word which it received from the Sunday school, would suffice to demonstrate this socializing tendency. Society is made up of such families. Once introduced, religion percolates into every cell of the domestic structure, and comes to tinge every act, whether inward or outward. Let the number of such families only be multiplied to a degree not too great to be supposed, and we should already have turned the helm of state away from one of our most dangerous social reefs. Our hopes are raised when we contemplate tens of thousands of children awaiting the hand of Christian education. To present to the mind at a glance the social effect of such training, conceive twin-brothers, born in poverty and squalor, to be separately brought up, one in his native nest or rookery, and the other under the formative lessons of divine truth. We propose to repeat this thousands of times, for the sake of its influence on society. The ductile current of American youth may be poured into the right mould, even though adult evil be incorrigible."—Pp. 286-288.

We had intended to notice, at some length, the great value of the Sunday school as affording the best *nucleus* for the formation of a new church, whether in city or country, but our limits forbid. The

experience of Methodism is full of examples of the great importance of this form of missionary activity; many of the best of our new congregations, especially in large cities and towns, have been formed in this way. The *modus operandi* is very simple, yet wonderfully efficient. A few energetic and zealous young men and women, looking out for new spheres of usefulness, select a spot for the establishment of a school—the more unfavorable in outward appearance the better, if it only have the one great advantage of being accessible to a neighboring population. The school is opened; the vicinity is carefully visited; children are gathered in, and by and by some of them are converted. The parents are soon interested; they wish to see something of these new forces that are at work upon their children; and their visits to the school, or the calls of the teacher at their houses, at length open their hearts to spiritual influences. It is not long before the rented school-room gives place to a simple but commodious church building, with ample accommodations for worship, for the class-meetings, and the schools. In a year or two “the wilderness blossoms as the rose.”

The general efficiency of the Sunday-school system, both as a pastoral and missionary agency, may be inferred from the fact that in the year 1854, according to the carefully prepared statistical statements of the Annual Report of our Sunday-school Union, the number of conversions in the schools was equal to half the entire net increase of the membership of the Church. It is believed that a comparison of the reports of the last ten years would exhibit an average result still more striking.

A few remarks upon the duties springing from the relations of the Sunday school to the Church will close our article. Among the most important of these duties are those which devolve upon the minister. If any neglect on his part be culpable, it is a neglect of the Sunday school. Here is a body of sub-pastors, under the authority of the Church, regularly employed, Sunday after Sunday, in teaching religion. Has the chief pastor nothing to do with them? Shall they teach what they please, with no guidance or hinderance from him? Shall they labor as they can, without his aid or sympathy? On the contrary, it flows from the very theory we have sought to develop, that the teachers, on the one hand, are bound to obey the pastor, in a certain sense; and that he, on the other hand, is bound to teach, to stimulate, to encourage them. His time is precious! But what more precious way of spending it than this? What hour more pregnant with results, both for time and eternity, than the hour of the weekly teachers' meeting, when the pastor unfolds views of Bible truth, and plans of spiritual teaching, which they, in turn, are

to work out in their classes at the Sunday school? What a theological seminary is this!

It flows from the relations of the Sunday school to the Church, further, that the work of the *teachers* is a religious work. It is a specific branch of Christian labor for the spread of the kingdom of God. When Christ "ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts to men: he gave some apostles, and some evangelists, and some prophets, and some pastors and teachers," for the edifying of the Church, and for the work of the ministry. In a true sense the Church recognizes the teacher, or, at least, is beginning to recognize him, as engaged in pastoral labor. But this recognition breeds distinct and weighty responsibilities. No teacher is faithful to his function in all respects, who does not definitely aim at the *salvation* of the children intrusted to his care. In order to success in his work, the teacher must be what he wishes his pupils to be. "It is not the cry of the wild duck," according to the Chinese proverb, "but his flight, that leads the flock to follow him." Whatever virtues, whether the minor ones of punctuality, neatness, attention, and the like, or the greater, of earnestness, truthfulness, and devotion, the teacher wishes *them* to learn, in all these he must be their example. For, after all, the child learns as much by the eye as by the ear. The savage gives but little instruction, yet the child of the savage is more like his father than the children of civilized men ever are. Limited as the scope of savage life and thought may be, it is all real, all earnest; the word and the deed correspond, or rather, in most cases, the deed stands for the word. We are glad to believe that the generality of American Sunday-school teachers afford pious examples to their little flocks. We concur fully in Dr. Alexander's judgment that "the best part of our American Church is that which is in the ranks of Sunday-school teaching, or which has been there. They are, in great part, young Christians. The very term imports ardor, zeal, and strength, the spring, bloom, and promise of the Church. They are the advance-guard of our host; leading the van, breaking through the frontiers of indolence, adventuring into the enemy's territory; our blessed 'army of occupation.' It is one of the good points of the scheme that it affords employment for such, and that, whenever an intelligent young disciple feels himself stimulated by an irrepressible desire to labor for the salvation of souls, he always has a field open for him, and need not delay even a moment. Hence, the pastor naturally turns, in an emergency, to his Sabbath-school teachers; and hence, also, some of the most able and successful ministers and missionaries have issued from these nurseries. The exercises enjoined on teachers cultivate their graces

and keep their benevolence always in working order. Taking pupils and scholars together, they comprise the better portion of our churches."

Finally, in surveying the various fields of the Church's labor and activities in this age, we find in no one of them greater cause of rejoicing than is to be found in the present prosperity of the Sunday-school system in America; believing that the tendency of its faithful working is, and in proportion to its fuller development will be in a still higher degree, to build up the Church of Christ in her inward life, to extend her triumphs over the kingdom of evil, and to hasten the coming of that hour of the predicted joy of the Son of God, when he shall "see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied;" to hasten the coming of that hour of the triumph of the Son of God, "when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them."

ART. II.—SLAVERY.

HAPPY is the man whose life is as good as his principles. Few are of this description, perhaps none who are not regenerate. The principles of men generally are good, for conscience is rarely at fault where the intellect is sound and the facts are fairly laid before it.

The man who has violated the whole moral law admits in the court of his own breast, that it is "holy, just, and good;" that it would be a happy thing indeed if we could have a perfect conformity to it by all mankind; and that he has often sighed for a world without an idolater, or a blasphemer, or a Sabbath breaker, or an ingrate, or a murderer, or an adulterer, or a thief, or a false witness, or a covetous person. Take the most unscrupulous oppressor aside when he is in a calm and meditative mood, and submit to him the golden rule. Do you think he would disapprove it? Not he. He wishes it enforced so far as he and his family and friends are concerned, and he sees no reason why it should not apply to all others. Let the whole human family be assembled in one great senate-house, to legislate for all men and all time, and let the law of love be proposed, would it not be unanimously and promptly voted, to the condemnation of every voter?

But proud man is slow to confess his errors to his fellows: he has

many refuges of lies in which he conceals himself when openly attacked. It is an easy thing for him to make the worse appear the better reason, when his passions move him to do so. He can diminish the force of testimony and argument on one side, and augment the force of all that he finds on the other; he may even close his ears to that which is against him, and say there is nothing; and imagine what does not exist in his favor, and say there is something; but in the closet, and to one who does not know his sins, he will easily confess that they are grievous, pernicious, execrable; or let him see these sins in others, or in the abstract, and he will quickly condemn them. Indeed, in calm and honest hours, there is no man more eloquent or severe in condemnation of drunkenness than the drunkard, or of covetousness than the miser, or of oppression than the oppressor. He understands and feels what he says. Hence there are no reformers equal to those who have reformed themselves. But so long as men are determined to sin, they conceal their sins from themselves, disguise themselves before others, and studiously dissemble their feelings. For this purpose they often put ingenuity upon the rack; they walk softly, look both ways, as near as may be, at once, scan their words, and train their looks, and voice, and gestures; but with all their caution, art, labor, address, and cunning, they are unsuccessful; in a thousand ways they daily admit principles, which, applied to them, secure their condemnation. How indignant was Hazael when the weeping prophet disclosed his future life! a life which was but the development of his present passions. He condemned that life as inhuman, brutal, like that of a dog. When David was committing adultery secretly with Bathsheba, and plotting the murder of her husband, doubtless he had many ways of blinding himself to his fault, and many modes of silencing his accusers; perhaps he would have treated a man as a rebel against his government, as a meddler in political affairs, who should have dared to question his justice. But when the prophet told him of the rich man that had exceeding many flocks and herds, and who spared to take of his own flock and of his own herd, but took the poor man's lamb, and dressed it for the man that was come to him, his anger was greatly kindled, and he said: "As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this shall surely die."

When a certain young man was directed by the Saviour to sell all and follow him, he went away sorrowful, although he had laid down for all men broadly the principle of obedience to God.

The Stoics taught the doctrine of indifference to all events, yet in secret they acted and murmured as other men.

"The Platonists, and even Epictetus and his followers, believe

that God alone is worthy to be loved and admired, and yet they themselves desire to be loved and admired."

The Pyrrhonists denied the reality of an external world, yet they acted upon the reports of the senses, as others, and were as careful as they to preserve their natural existence. But why refer to history for examples?

The rich man praises the life of poverty for its quiet and health, its freedom from care and temptation, but shuns it as if it were a pestilence; the poor man denounces the life of avarice as attended with diseases, solitudes, dangers, and sins, as hardening the soul, and rendering its salvation as difficult as the passage of a camel through a needle's eye, and yet he pursues it with all the eagerness of a miser. Let us select a theme of popular interest for a more full illustration. Talk with a calm and candid slaveholder, and he will probably declare that he is not in favor of slavery; that with him it is a necessity, a burden thrust upon him. Ask him why he does not emancipate; he will say, perhaps, he dare not, for the law forbids, or, at least, it would hold him responsible for the support and good conduct of the slaves he might free. "But suppose, sir, that by leaving the country, they relieve you of all responsibility? are you willing that this burden should move off from your shoulders?" "O! no; if my slaves should leave me, I would pursue them and bring them back, if it cost me my farm." But why? "O! I have too much mercy for them, to leave them to take care of themselves; they are incapable of liberty." Why? "Because they are uneducated?" Are you willing, then, to let them remain free if others will engage to educate them? Moreover, if you assume the position that slavery is better than freedom, where persons are uneducated, you should, as far as possible, enslave ignorant whites as well as blacks. There are thousands of voters in the United States, both North and South, who cannot write their own names. "But they are *capable* of being educated; they have good minds." Do you take the ground that inferiority of mind should subject one to enslavement? then, if we can find among your kindred persons of feeble intellect, will you allow us to enslave them? If we can find on your plantation some mulatto slave girl, whom a jury of twelve men shall pronounce to have more intellect than your own daughter, are you willing that she should take your daughter's place and your daughter hers? or, if we can find a Fred Douglas on your neighbor's plantation, whom disinterested parties shall pronounce superior in natural talents to yourself, are you willing that he should assume your place and put you in his? "No, sir. Do you think a white man is to be compared to an African?" And so you shift your

ground again. You enslave men because they are Africans. And why so? Is it because they came from another country? then, if you go or can be taken to Africa or Asia, are you willing to be made a slave? "It is not because they were born in Africa, but because they are negroes, that they may be enslaved." Then, if you may enslave the negro because he is not of the same variety of the race as yourself, may not a Malay or a negro enslave you for the same reason? "No, no, sir. The Lord has authorized the slavery of the negroes, but not of the whites." Pray when and where? Were the slaves of the Israelites black? Not at all, they were white. If you go to the Old Testament, the negro will have the advantage of you. "Well, I'll go to the New. Did not the apostles justify Roman slavery?" If they justified any they did; but that slavery was also the slavery chiefly of whites, not of blacks. The negro still has the advantage of you. "But the slave is mine; I did not steal him, but I inherited him; I received him providentially; he passed through I do not know how many hands before he came to mine." Suppose some one should steal your horse, and he should be sold fifty times in getting to New-York, and you should find him at last in the hands of a son of the last purchaser, would you claim him, or would you think the youth held him providentially? "I would claim him, because I am the original owner." And is not the negro the original owner of himself? If a man cannot prove his right to his own flesh and blood, no man can prove a right to any thing, for there is nothing else which sustains so intimate a relation to him. "But I take as good care of my slave as of myself." Are you willing to exchange places with him; let him live in your house and you in his? "Not exactly; but my slave is contented with his situation." Because you have imbruted him. If I can take your infant son, and keep him so ignorant that he shall not know his rights or be capable of enjoying them, will that authorize me to hold him in slavery? "Well, well; but if the slaves were emancipated we should not be able to endure the country, for it is impossible for two races so different as the white and black to dwell together in peace, if both enjoy liberty." Is there less danger when one race is oppressed by the other? do men hate you less when you *right* them than when you *wrong* them? Moreover, if such be your ground, you will emancipate all *white* slaves, and all who are willing to depart from the country. "O no! we should have none to till the soil." Cannot white men work the cotton and sugar fields of the South? If not, then Providence does not design that white men should dwell there. Are you willing to leave the country to that race for which alone, you say, the climate is adapted? "I have no patience with

such a man as you; we ought not to sympathize with a few negroes, while we have no feeling for twenty-five millions of whites." Let us not talk at random. According to the census of 1850, the population of the United States was 23,256,972, of which 19,630,133 were whites, 3,626,839 colored persons. Of the whites, 13,347,715 are in free states, and only 6,222,418 in slave states, so that the number of whites in our free states is more than double the number of whites in our slave territory. The whites of the free states are both injured and dishonored by slavery, which discourages manufactures, and diminishes wages in the free states, and threatens to shut out Western territories from our landless poor, and bring upon us the scorn of the civilized world; if, then, we are to sympathize with the majority, should not our sympathy be with freedom against slavery. But of the six millions of whites in slave states, only about 346,525 are slaveholders; the rest are injured rather than benefited by slavery, which creates in their midst an imperious rural aristocracy, and, by making labor disgraceful, shuts out their hope of self-elevation. If we are to sympathize with the majority, shall we sympathize with the 350,000 aristocratic whites, or the 6,000,000 poor whites—350,000 oppressors, or 3,000,000 oppressed? If you allow sympathies to follow majorities, the case is soon decided, for it is in the last result 350,000 on one side, to nearly 23,000,000 on the other.

"I am sorry to hear you talk in this abolition style; it is meddling with polities, bringing disgrace upon the clergy, and causing multitudes to turn skeptical. I believe in preachers preaching the gospel." In this we agree. But what is the Gospel? a set of phrases, of long and learned discussions, nice speculations, and trite admonitions? or does it contain animating saving truths, and practical principles regulating life and morals? The heathen altars served as a refuge from cruelty and oppression; is the Christian less potent and less humane? Shall three millions of our fellow-men suffer under cruel bondage, and their cries provoke no sympathy from the Christian Church? Shall ministers hear daily of the sufferings and wrongs of fellow-men inflicted by a Christian community, and utter no remonstrance, no prayer, no admonition in the ears of that community? If such is Christianity, we have not understood it. Is any system of slavery, as bad as our own, tolerated in any pagan or Mohammedan country in the civilized earth? If Christianity, properly interpreted, favors slavery or forbids its ministers to utter a remonstrance against it, then it is not of God. God cannot be against himself; but he has revealed his abhorrence of slavery in his providence; he has made it a curse to the master

and the slave, the parent and the child, the state and the Church; slaveholders themselves being judges. Not more clearly has he revealed himself against drunkenness, idolatry, or debauchery. Convince the world that Christianity forbids its ministers to cry out against it, and the reasoning part of mankind will declare the Gospel an imposture.

Slavery must be either right or wrong, a blessing or a curse. If wrong, it ought to cease; if right, it ought to extend over the earth. In the latter case, the civilized world should acknowledge its mistake in denouncing the slave trade as piracy; it should re-open and promote it at once. This might enact cruelties, but not half so bad as those which the domestic slave trade exhibits; it would operate not upon such as have been brought under the refining influence of Christian civilization, but upon savage natures; it would not transfer Christians from feeling Christian masters to unfeeling and infidel ones, but from pagan masters to Christian ones. The domestic slave trade is confined to the aristocracy; the African would enable the poor as well as the rich to enjoy the blessings of slavery; if it is a blessing, it ought not to be monopolized.

But let us leave the South and take a seat by the city merchant. O, what religious horror he has of slavery. He cannot contain himself when he thinks of slaveholders, who, for the sake of gain, will hold their fellow-men in bonds, will enlarge the area of slavery for the sake of raising the price of human bodies and souls. But, sir, how has your social and political influence for the last thirty years been employed? Have you and your fellow-merchants in this city uttered your remonstrance against slavery, and voted against it, and petitioned against it, through your chambers of commerce, and by all your avenues of commercial influence, sent forth a constant stream of resistance to its encroachments? "No, sir; if we had, we should have lost our trade with the South; as it is, we have had hard work to keep our share of it against our powerful rivals." So the whole commercial influence of your city has been given to sustain slavery! this accounts for its strength; for the city generally controls the country. It contains the leading newspapers, the leading books, the leading statesmen, the leading orators, the leading ministers, and its commerce sustains and controls them all. And so you have controlled the North for the sake of the South, and have perpetuated slavery for the sake of your share of its profits. Denounce slavery no longer. The slaveholders are far more excusable than you, inasmuch as they have far greater motives to mislead them than you. They have about three billions of dollars invested in what they call their slave stock, from which they receive a large per centage.

You city merchants have only a profit on a tenth or twentieth of that small portion of this per centage which is spent on this side of the Atlantic. Happy he who condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth. "But you must not put all the blame on the merchants. Many of the newspapers have led us rather than we them; they have talked to us, day by day, at our morning and evening meals, and we have trusted in their reasoning." Let us go to the editors. Gentlemen, on you lies the blame of leading the North to sustain and extend this accursed evil. "We are anti-slavery at heart as much as you; we abhor the man, who for money holds a fellow in bonds; but necessity was laid upon us; some of us were hopelessly in debt, and were compelled to sustain the party that paid us best; others desired office for ourselves or our children, as we were growing old, and we knew that without propitiating the South we could not obtain it; for no important officer of the general government, from the Supreme Judge of the United States Court to the pettiest consul, could have been appointed if he stood committed against slavery." But what think ye of Pilate, who, merely to retain his office, delivered Jesus, whom he knew to be innocent, to be scourged and crucified? Doubtless he was just at heart; he would rather have given up Barabbas the murderer; his conscience and his wife's dream troubled him, but the loss of the revenue troubled him more. Do you regard him as your favorite hero, and the model for your sons? "Do not, however, reproach us; go to our spiritual advisers, the clergy, who in their prayers, their discourses, and their writings, are either silent on the subject of African oppression, or volunteer Scriptural defenses or excuses for it, or at least admonitions against alluding to it in Church." To these clergy let us go. On you, reverend gentlemen, rests, in great measure, the responsibility of slavery. "We are not favorable to slavery; we regard it as the sum of all villainies; you cannot hate it worse than we; but how can we speak out against it? we are supported by a commercial congregation, and we should soon be without a support if we opened our mouths against slavery." Then why not report your destitution to the bishop and ask another place? "Alas! the bishops would censure us, if we rendered ourselves unacceptable to our congregations on that account, and especially if we were denounced and caricatured, as we should be, in the newspapers; and they would inform us that they could find no places for us. Painful as it is, we must be silent, for we must live." That is not certain; at any rate, it is plain that either it is or is not necessary that you should live; if it is necessary, Providence will secure you a living; and if not, you do not need any. But what think ye of Judas, who, for thirty pieces of silver, betrayed

his Lord? was he worse than he who, for a good salary and the favor of his chief-priests, betrays his Lord's children? What think you of Socrates, whose life was the forfeit of his integrity? and what think ye of the noble army of martyrs, of Pauls, who traversed the earth in perils and woes, and finally laid their heads upon the block? of Luthers, who rose in the strength of God against the world, and who braved fire and sword day by day? of Jeremias, who were imprisoned as seditious and aiming to overthrow the government? If they had regarded their salaries, we might be in darkness and bonds. You hold them as examples, why not follow them?

Where is the faith that looks beyond the present world, and gives intrepidity in danger, integrity in office, and disregard of temporal interests? "But why rebuke us inferiors?" Turn we to heads of churches, venerable men, whose crowns are blossoming for the grave, whose lives are irreproachable, whose offices are venerable! with humility, kindness, and profound respect, would we approach you; but we are moved with compassion for three millions of our fellow-men in bondage and in intellectual and spiritual darkness. They are dying daily, and ere our ministry is closed, a whole generation of them may pass to the tomb, while increased numbers will succeed to their chains and sorrows. In the name of Him who said, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me," we ask, Why are ye silent? "We will explain: we abhor the sin of schism, we cannot see the South separated from the North; we should lose our influence in the country, our prestige before the world." But, reverend fathers, are you Protestants? "Our fathers separated from the mother Church for good cause." So, then, separation is allowable for good cause! Moreover, when a proposal was made for a union with the Anglican Church, which you believed to be orthodox, did you favor it? Would not a union of all evangelical denominations be the reverse of schism, and add to the influence and prestige of the Church? Would you favor and advocate such a scheme? "O, no! There are other reasons to be considered; we have mercy upon the poor slaves, and desire access to them, that we may preach to them the Gospel and comfort them with heavenly consolations; but, if we were known to be anti-slavery, we could not get access to them." But are you not opposed to slavery? is not the Gospel? So you must disguise your own sentiments and suppress the spirit of the Gospel, in order to preach to slaves? Is this right? Moreover, would they not have as much of the Gospel as they now have, if we should withdraw? But will you apply generally the principle you have laid down? Will you, for the sake of preaching Jesus to the Turks, cry, "Mohammed is a

prophet," or agree not to denounce either him or his worship? You could enlarge the Church greatly by this means, and have you not as much sympathy for the Turks as for the Africans? "Ah, but that would be tolerating a false doctrine, not merely a false *practice*." Will you tolerate any other false *practice* for the sake of church extension? In countries where polygamy prevails, will you tolerate it? There are wives, and children, and fathers, to whom you can have access if you do, but from whom you are shut out if you do not. "O! but polygamy is not tolerated as slavery is by the Pauline code." Not so sure of that. Let there be as much money involved in polygamy, age after age, as there has been in slavery, and you will easily find as much Scripture for it. "Not a word of it." Why what is said of a bishop, "he must be the husband of one wife?" "O, I do not see anything in that!" But you would if polygamy could hold a few million of dollars for an age or two between the eyes of our city commentators and their Bibles. They would cry out, "Exceptio probat regulum." How clearly it is implied that if a bishop must have but one wife, other men may have more. "But, my young friend, it is our duty to preach the Gospel alone, and trust to it to accomplish all reforms. Its silent peaceful influences in the hearts of men will soon overthrow slavery and all other sins." Did you, venerable fathers, favor the temperance movement? Why did you not resist all temperance organizations, orations, newspapers, and sermons, and rely upon redeeming the country by simply continuing the same routine under which it had become corrupted? Moreover, it was under the Christian religion, by a Christian country, and by the agency of a Christian bishop, that slavery was introduced into America. It has existed in America since 1508, near three centuries and a half; it has been in the United States since 1600, more than two centuries and a half, and it is now stronger than it ever has been before; having more money, more social influence, and more ecclesiastical and more political power than ever. It is true that our own free territory has been expanding, and our free population increasing; mark, I speak not of its *relative* increase, but its *positive*; it has more deacons, and elders, and bishops, more governors, and editors, and book makers involved in it. If under our preaching slavery has been gaining strength year by year, and century by century, what hope have we that this means will bring it to an end? The truth is, that Christian doctrine is liable to be perverted and Christian practice lowered by the Church; and, as in the days of Luther and of Wesley, extraordinary means are demanded, and he is not an innovator, but a restorer of the true Gospel, who applies it to the sins of the times. The soft and slippered Christianity that

disturbs no one, is not the Christianity of Christ, who brought upon himself persecution and revilings wherever he went, or of Paul, who turned the world upside down. "Ah! my friend, you have no pity for your fellow-whites of the South, and no pity for your bleeding country." Indeed, you mistake me. I pity slaveholders more than I do slaves; their condition is worse both for this life and that which is to come. God has said: "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord. He shall save the children of the needy, and break in pieces the oppressor. If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment, marvel not at the matter: for he that is higher than the highest regardeth. Shall I not visit for these things, shall not my soul be avenged for such a nation as this? Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Woe unto him that buildeth a town by blood, and establisheth a city by iniquity." Is it mercy to teach such men that they are subjects of grace on the way to glory? Is it mercy to a country to perpetuate a cause of discord, disunion, and, sooner or later, the Divine vengeance? The South will not quit her curse while the North sustains it, the North will not quit her interests in its gains while the Church defends it; the Church will not rise above her pastors, nor inferior clergy above superior.

"Would you be wiser than the apostles? Did they preach anti-slavery discourses, or interfere with civil relations?" Suppose they did not. How different their situation from ours! The governments in which they preached were heathen; over them Christians had no power, and for them incurred no responsibility. How would Paul feel now, to see governments founded by Christians, sustained by Christians, controlled by Christians, executed by Christians, originating, perpetuating, extending, and defending slavery? Think you that he would leave no counsel or warning to utter to magistrates, and no discipline to execute upon slaveholding and slavetrading bishops, elders, deacons, and saints? However kindly they might treat their fellow-Christians, the members of Jesus Christ in bonds, when he saw that the shameful, bloody, and licentious system of slavery was upheld by such examples, would he not apply the principle: "If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world standeth?"

"Your spirit is censorious." Have ye never read the prophets? Which one does not speak in plain and often terrible language of the sins of rulers? One compares the princes to roaring lions, the judges

to evening wolves, and denounces the prophets as light and treacherous, and the priests as polluting the sanctuary and doing violence to the law. Another represents the aristocracy as bribing both the executive and the judiciary to a system of iniquity, which they are all to work vigorously. "That they may do evil with both hands violently, the prince asketh and the judge asketh for a reward; and the great man he uttereth his mischievous desire, so they wrap it up. The best of them is a briar, the most upright is sharper than a thorn hedge."

"Your doctrines are revolutionary." Nay, verily, we ask nothing inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States. We would perpetuate the Union to the latest generation by removing the only evil that threatens disunion. We would bring all churches and all Christian hearts together by breaking the great wall, which is destined, if not broken down, to break asunder all the churches of the land. We would have this effected without bloodshed, without violence, without confusion, and without dishonor, by an appeal to the conscience of the Church. We would not only remove the cause which threatens disunion in Church and State, but we would cement North and South by new bonds, for we have ever maintained that the former, having participated in the guilt and profit of slavery, should also share in the honor and expense of emancipation. "All this is fanaticism." Do you denounce Wilberforce and Clarkson as fanatics, and sneer at the British nation for declaring that slavery should exist in her colonies no longer?

"Do not be hasty or troubled about this great evil, but remember that God reigns." Do you believe that there is a foot of space or moment of time over which he does not reign? He reigns where the midnight assassin plunges the dagger to the heart of pleading innocence; he reigns where the heathen altar smokes with incense, and the idol infolds the infatuated victim in its arms of death; he reigned in St. Domingo in the bloody insurrection, and in Paris on the night of St. Bartholomew. But he reigns by means, not by miracles, by natural understood laws, not by variable volitions; he reigns over moral agents without suspending moral agency. And the fact that he so reigns should arouse us to prayers and efforts to conform to his laws, and thus escape his wrath. Well might Jefferson say: "And can the liberties of the nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis—a conviction in the minds of the people that their own liberties are the gift of God, and that they are not violated without his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just, that his justice cannot sleep forever; that, considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revo-

lution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situations, is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute that can take sides with us in such a contest."

He has read history to little purpose who does not know that slavery and idolatry caused the downfall of the great nations prior to the Christian era, and that one of the great purposes of the coming of the God-man was to remove these evils. He has marked the signs of the times to little purpose, who has not perceived, amid all the complications of polities, that the last great battle between civilization and barbarism, between those who would free and those who would fetter the human mind, has commenced; that the time when men could be treated as mere animals is passing away; that it is the order of Providence that every nation shall arise; and that he is the true Christian who would have his country walk in this order, and thus take her place in the vanguard of mankind. For Christianity is no mere trade, but a divine science, founded in the nature of things, and working in all the forces of nature. The Church is no mere theater for the display of gorgeous ceremonials, but an active, sympathizing, instructing, redeeming agency. Like the Messiah himself, she is God looking on the world with eyes of flesh, speaking to it through lips of flesh, and touching winds, waters, body, mind, life, death, with hands of flesh, making superstition, idolatry, oppression, and wrong, flee from before her face, and all that is in the earth, and in the sea, and under the whole heaven, cry out: "Blessing, and honor, and power, and dominion be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb forever;" animating into sons of Abraham, making vocal with praises, the very stones that have been trampled beneath the feet of ages.

ART. III.—MILTON AS A REFORMER.

1. *Milton's Prose Works.* Bohn's Standard Library. London: 1852.
2. *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, with a Life by Rev. John Mitford. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1854.
3. *Johnson's Lives of the Poets.*

THE lives of studious thinkers usually furnish scanty materials to the biographer; for their incidents are inward, beyond the observation of history. As the granite beneath the water depths, the life of the great thinker seems to lie beneath the institutions of society,

unheard, unseen, till the strata are upturn'd and the fertile island and the heaven-kissing mountain are upheaved. He plies the forge of thought for others, as the Cyclops, shut in his grimy cavern, wrought bolts for Jove to wield.

Many literary men spend their years in selfish seclusion from the toiling, suffering world. Their own minds are to them a kingdom, and they care not if all other kingdoms of the earth fall into chaos. Taste and learning rear for them an Alhambra, where they may revel in delight, while the world shivers and starves around them. The reeking miasma of vulgar suffering would offend their dainty sense, the bloody sweat of the crushed and fallen would soil their scholarly robes.

But there is one life in literary history crowded with the grandest incident. One giant has there been whose sinews were not only bent at the smoking forge, but strung on the smoking field; one who not only wrought, but wore and wielded the arms of heroes; one who built an armory where all the weapons of reform were forged, to be handed from age to age, and then emblazoned on them the fields where he had tried their celestial temper. One man of genius has there been whose "soul was like a star and dwelt apart," yet laid on his heart the lowliest duties, and traveled on his way in cheerful godliness. One man of the world has there been, who for his threescore years boasted the fiercest, foulest floods of earthly excitements, yet kept his soul "pure as the naked heavens." One poet has there been, whose verse is the true embodiment of sublimity, yet whose life is as sublime as his song, and who, by both song and life, has compelled men to recognize a synonym for sublimity in the very name of MILTON.

John Milton was cradled amid revolutions. Sprung from an ancestry who had flourished in feudal rank and opulence, the civil wars had left their deep disfiguring scars on the ancient house. His father was disinherited because he was determined to read and interpret the Bible for himself, and yet by his industry and energy liberally educated his gifted son, and early retired in comparative opulence. When the Mayflower dropped her anchor and discharged her precious freight on the icy shore of a New-England wilderness, Milton, an auburn-haired, enthusiastic boy, twelve years of age, bending over his books in London, looked up wistfully after that solitary little vessel, and knew that England was loosing the ruddy drops from her very heart. For seventeen years from that time he was a diligent, secluded student, while the whole land around him was shivering with the birth-throes of the great revolution; while thousands of anvils rang around him with the din of warlike prepara-

tion, unknown, unheard of in his obscurity, he was quietly tempering and sharpening his weapons. Turning from the troubled present, he voyaged away into the dim past, sought out the continents of ancient lore, trod with the ardor of a discoverer their boundless shores, dug into their golden mountains, washed gems from their sparkling sands, bent his ear to those old harps that have tranced the world to laughter and to tears, laid him down, as he himself tells us,

“Where the Ilyssus rolls his whispering stream,”
to hear

“The Attic bird
Trill her thick-warbled notes the summer long,”

and then, “with prow of beaten gold,” laden with the choicest merchandise of the choicest climes, he returned to the storm and strife of his mother-land.

Our noble translation of the Bible had just been made. Bacon’s glorious star had hardly begun to burn through the cloud-veil which his shameful life had drawn around it; Spenser had dropped his harp, and the dying notes of the “Sweet Swan of Avon” were lingering on the air, when this eaglet was training his eye for the noon-tide blaze.

From a child, his thoughts seem to have turned toward the Christian ministry; but when only twenty years of age he speaks with disgust of the low state of true religion in the Established Church, and betrays considerable contempt for the superficial attainments and preaching of its ministers. In his treatise against Prelaty, published in 1641, he informs us that, by the intentions of parents and friends, and by his own resolutions, he was set apart to this noble work from childhood; and then, in his own quaint, forcible style, gives the cause of the total revolution in his plan of life: “coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which, unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must straight perjure, or split his faith; I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing.”

Who can measure the change in human history that hung upon this change in Milton’s purpose? How bewildering the consequences that rise before the imagination if we for a moment conceive that name as stricken from the list of poets, from the records of civil reform, and added to the muster-roll of the Christian ministry! The Christian pulpit lost a preacher who would have

blended in himself the purest light of her brightest stars, from Chrysostom "the golden mouthed," to Whitefield the flashing and fervent. What a blast would that sea-like voice have rolled through Sinai's iron trump! and then with what solemn and majestic tenderness would it have melted in silvery sweetness into Calvary's immortal tale! But, if the Church has lost her Demosthenes, she has gained her Homer.

It was a time when every true man, every lover of truth and liberty, heard the call to battle; Charles was fighting with his parliament, inch by inch, for the very rags of the haughty Tudor's robes. A pampered aristocracy and a shameless priesthood were fighting together over the wretched populace, like filthy vultures over a carcass. All men were angry over real or imagined wrongs. Old things were passing away, and timid conservatives shrieked in fear, and clutched frantically at every vanishing fragment of the past. New things were coming on; but what they would be, and whence they would come, no seer could divine. Free speech, free thought, free worship, were struggling for their very life in old England, and it was getting plainer every day that either they or the house of Stuart must be overthrown. Young Milton saw liberty bleeding, truth fallen in the streets, all interests dear to a noble nature in peril, and his heart throbbed hard for the fight; he longed to strike some mighty blow for God and truth.

But his arm was made to wield mightier weapons than are forged from brass and steel. A far lower grade of mind than his won the fields of Austerlitz and Waterloo. His brain was made to weave plans vaster than those which engross the thoughts of the statesman and parliamentary leader. A far lower grade of mind than his shines at the council board and in the legislative hall. The path of his soul lay through the very highest regions of human thought and feeling; and there it must travel to move with its native stride. All his strength could not be put forth except in grappling with the deepest, sternest questions of human destiny, and there he must work, or do no more than other men, and permit his highest powers to rust in oblivion. Thousands could hold a musket as well as he; thousands could go through the details of legislation, make statutes, constitutions, treaties, better than he. But there is one man in an age who can dig down and show men the foundations on which states are built; one man in an age who can go out and survey the province of the sword and the statute, run boundary lines, which shall be respected through generations of generations, and set up landmarks which shall eternally say, "Thus far and no farther." Others could take down the worn-out machine of government, when the

man of an age had pointed out the necessity. Millions feel the sore friction of society's machinery, but there is one man in an age to put his finger on the very spot where the friction is made, and show the remedy; and when the whole has become hopelessly clogged and brought to a stand, and men are clamoring for new, the man of an age is needed to calmly point out which parts of the old must be discarded, and which may economically be used in the work; and still more, when the new machinery is set up with the shoutings of millions, he is needed to keenly detect its deficiencies, point out its limitations, and damp the extravagant expectations of the multitude.

When a nation tears itself from the orbit where for ages it has revolved, and plunges into pathless space, a calm observer is needed, who can stand aloof, calculate on immutable principles the curve of aberration, and calm perturbed spirits by quietly mapping out the unexplored path. Thousands in England had drawn the bow upon the monster of civil and religious tyranny, and their arrows rattled harmlessly down from its iron mail; one was needed to march dauntlessly up to the very throne of its power, calmly probe every plate of its armor, find the vulnerable spot, and then, standing amid its hot breath, direct the archers' aim to the joint of the harness. The dust and din of a carnal strife were all around young Milton, a spiritual weapon was his, which smote like the sword of his own Michael, and "felled squadrons at once."

The Arcadian harp pleased his delicate ear far more than the jarring discord of the battle trump; the quiet retirement of the studious solitude had wondrous charms for him, and to engage in the affairs of public life was to leave Castalia's fount and Siloa's brook, and "embark on a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes." To sing of the wars of angels was far more congenial to him than to engage in the petty squabbles of prelates and kings; but some one must do vulgar work, and Milton heard the call. Lofty as the task might appear which the Revolution assigned to him, it could but appear vulgar to him, especially as he knew that the best efforts of his mind would not be heeded and could not be appreciated by that age.

He had discovered that his intellectual progeny "showed by certain vital signs that they were likely to live." He tells us he had "an inward prompting which grew daily upon him, that by labor and intense study, joined with a strong propensity of nature, he might leave something so written to after times that they would not willingly let it die." Friends warned him, and his own judgment warned him, that to write prose was *to use his left hand*; that to engage in the fierce controversies of that time was to spend years

and energies that might be employed in rearing the structure of immortal fame, and, above all, was to draw on his name a storm of opprobrium that might beset forever all these splendid aspirations of youth. But truth, appearing in all her beauty and power, rolled a burden upon his soul like that which pressed down the hearts of the old Hebrew prophets, and he tells us, in speaking of his feelings at this epoch: "When God commands to take the trumpet and blow a dolorous and jarring blast, it lies not in man's power what he shall say and what he shall conceal." It was inglorious for him

"To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
Or with the tangles of Neæra's hair,"

to linger in his olive grove with "his garland and his singing robes about him," while "arms on armor braying horrid discord" filled all the air.

He knew that he must "use his left hand," and in a most ungracious and distasteful work; but he nobly says: "Were it the meanest under-service, if God by his secretary conscience enjoins it, it were sad for me to draw back."

In 1641, when thirty-three years of age, he struck the first blow. It was a little treatise on Reformation in the English Church.* Up to that time the world that knew him, knew him only as a quiet schoolmaster, who had won the admiration of a little circle of scholars and literati at home and in Italy, whither he had traveled to perfect his education, and had written a few Latin and English verses, the Latin deemed by good judges close copies of the ancient models; the English, exuberant in imagination, lofty in moral tone, with here and there a rich and heavy finish, as if draped in cloth of gold. Now he came down into the arena, and boldly flung the gauntlet at the very feet of that religious tyranny which sate like an incubus on the very bosom of his distracted country. He took the high ground at once, that the Church should be cut loose from the State; that a hierarchy is wholly incompatible with civil or religious liberty; that all state patronage is a curse to the Church; that true religion can never flourish except where every man is left to his own conscience. He pours out vials of indignation on those champions of the State Church who blinked the simple truths of the Gospel, which every man might see and feel, and were ever harping on the traditions of the fathers, the bulky and tedious decrees of councils and synods; bids them "doat no more on those immeasurable, innumerable, and therefore unnecessary and unmerciful volumes;"

* Of Reformation in England, and the Causes that hitherto have hindered it. In two Books. Published in 1641.

taunts them with "wasting their precious hours in the endless conferring [comparison] of councils and conclaves that demolish one another, (although I know many of those who pretend to be great rabbies in these studies, have scarce saluted them from the strings and the title page ; or, to give them more, have been but the ferrets or mouse hunts of an index,) yet what pastor or minister, how learned, religious, or discreet soever, does not now bring his cheeks both full-blown with oecumenical and synodical, shall be accounted a lank, shallow, and insufficient man ; . . . they fear the plain field of the Scriptures ; the chase is too hot ; they seek the dark, the bushy, the tangled forest ; they would imbosk ; they feel themselves strook in the transparent streams of divine truth ; they would plunge and tumble, and think to lie hid in the foul weeds and muddy waters where no plummet can reach the bottom ;" he cries out to God's ministers "to urge only the Gospel, and hold it ever in their faces like a mirror of diamond, till it dazzle and pierce their misty eyeballs."

Milton could not strike but with Michael's arm, he could not lift his bow without aiming at the heart and drawing the arrow to the head, and in an instant all men saw that the vital spot was touched. The champions of the hierarchy saw that no common foe had taken the field, and hastened to the defense. They were veterans in fight, resplendent in titles, armed with learning, wealth, and power; but Milton had counted the cost before he went to the war, and he declared that, though young, it would be shameful if he could not strike as heavy blows for truth as could they for tithes ; "for my years," says he, "be they few or many, what imports it ? so they bring reason, let that be looked on," and he followed up the blow again and again.*

It was a theme that stirred the deepest springs of his being, it brought up all the cherished visions of early years, and touched the tenderest spot in his wondrously sensitive soul. Years before, when moaning for his Lycidas, he indignantly bewails the scattered, starving flocks, whose hireling shepherds "creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold," and when they should be touching the lutes of Zion,

"Their lean and flashy songs
Grate on their scrawn pipes of wretched straw."

The next year after this work was written, the youthful champion saw his foe at his feet, for the English hierarchy was abolished by act of Parliament.

* Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and whether it may be deduced from the Apostolic Times, etc. The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.—1641.

To modern ears the style of these works may appear terribly severe; but we should remember that these words came hot from a volcanic heart, boiling up from the bottom with sublime wrath against abominable sin. Milton's indignation is fearfully grand. Johnson, who so cordially hated him, quotes his own tremendous line to describe his anger :*

"Hell grew darker at his frown."

It makes a man shiver at midsummer, to see him shake his fiery whip over the priests who traded in the reproofs of the Church, using the solemn and dreadful power of excommunication only to "prog and pander for fees"—"a banking den of thieves, who buy and sell the awful and majestic wrinkles of her brow."

And now he set his hand to another task. The Parliament, whose acts in the main Milton so cordially approved, fearful of the abuse of the free tongue and the free pen, unable to cut itself clear from entangling precedents, had enacted no book should be published without a license; and had appointed a committee through whose muddy brains all authors' thoughts must travel to reach the public ear; midwives to preside at the birth of every man's intellectual offspring, and spare or slay as seemed to them good.

The problem then before the English Parliament is one at which the wisest legislatures and philosophers of all ages had toiled. On the one hand, healthy intellectual activity, the immortal vigor of living thought, can never be had except where all restraint is removed; and on the other hand, freedom for good is freedom for evil; error, vice, and folly will rush down the channels opened for truth, virtue, and wisdom; or at least the turbid and the crystal streams will be mingled together. But Milton's keen vision pierced at once the battle smoke that had covered this field of controversy; he saw the center of the enemy's line, and pushed his artillery straight home.† "Truth can take care of herself," that was his battle-cry. "Truth is strong next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, no licensings, no stratagems, to render her victorious. Let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?" "Though all the winds of doctrine were, let loose upon the earth, so truth be in the field we injure her to doubt her strength."

These noble words are the tocsin peals of reformation. They rang out a grand cycle on the vast dial of human progress. They crashed

* Lives of the Poets—Milton.

† Areopagitica. Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing: to the Parliament of England.

through Europe upon the drowsy ears of hierarchs and tyrants like the roll of a thousand thunders. Milton saw that mind was awaking all over the kingdom.

"Methinks," says he, "I see a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam, purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance." Prelates and aristocrats were appalled at the sight, and cried out to give opiates to the rousing Samson, to drug the mewing eagle; but Milton shouted a chorus of halleluias over the awakening dead, yea, put the trump to his own lips and blew the resurrection blast. He felt the first throb of an earthquake that would topple down every structure not built on eternal foundations, and he was willing that all his architecture should bear the test. He saw that all old opinions were to be sternly challenged and fiercely assaulted, that none were safe unless cased in invincible armor; but he pushed his opinions forward into the very breast of the fight, eager to prove their invulnerable life.

This "*speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing*" would alone have placed Milton at the very head of the columns of reform. Though written two centuries ago, this present age has by no means traveled up to its spirit. It is the arsenal from which the advocates of free tongues and free pens will draw their weapons for ages to come. As we read and ponder, we sigh with Wordsworth :

"Milton, thou should'st be living at this hour."

To-day there are the same childish fears for the safety of truth, religion, Scripture, when men are allowed to do their own thinking; the same officious intermeddling to help the Almighty take care of the universe, to furnish truth with crutches when she not only has healthy limbs, but mighty wings; the same shivering at the whiff of every pamphlet, lest it demolish faith; the same croning away in chimney corners over the "good old times" of blissful ignorance; the same tormenting twinges in rheumatic souls at every change in the atmosphere of opinion. Some weak, squeamish people spend all their years nursing and coddling their faith, feeding it on the pap of antediluvian platitudes—would not trust it to a sniff of fresh air for all the world—drawing the blanket about its ears if the least breeze of controversy blows, warning everybody not to touch it, as if it had gout in every joint. Let a fossil be dug up, whether it be bone, monument, or manuscript, and they fly straightway into hysterics; let a table rap, and they swoon away entirely.

Now if there be a bone or stone upon this planet which incloses in itself the priceless jewel of an undiscovered truth, all men who really possess enlightened faith are ready to go in solid committee to dig it up, and bear it with shoutings into the sun's broadest blaze. And if the pranks of a table can show the world one new truth, let a grand dance be held for tables of all nations and tribes, yea, for every legged piece of timber on the planet. Satan would decline being fiddler at such a dance, if the least real good could come of it.

But when truth and error are allowed to fight out their own battles without hinderance, will not many be deceived and ruined? Yes, alas for them! but the fall of thousands will be the rising of millions. Thousands clamor to be fed on husks before they will taste fruits of celestial flavor; but if you lift a finger to take their husks from them they will cry out that you grudge them their dry, sapless fodder; they must starve; but others who come by afterward and see their bleaching bones will beware. It is the doubting only that are fearful. Real faith glories in trials; pure gold laughs at the furnace. Let man once really see truth, and he never fears error more. Let her matchless beauty once burst on his soul, and he no more fears that her painted harlot rival will steal away his heart than that a vulgar daubed image from the Cannibal Islands will at some time eclipse the charms of the *Venus de Medicis*.

But multitudes have only half a hold on truth; they totter in the gale and are overthrown, yet even this is best in the end; for, alas! it is the only way that such wavering souls can serve her cause in this stormy life. It is their sad lot to demonstrate to others, by their own ruin, the contempt with which she casts aside those who will not give her all the heart. They who will not tremble at her beauty must tremble at her wrath; they who will not give her the kiss of adoring love must submit to be dashed in pieces by the rod of her anger.

In 1649, Milton found a far heavier task laid upon him as a true reformer. The troubled state had reached a crisis, strange beyond all precedent, bewildering, even to the wisest and most hopeful. The abuses of royal power and prerogative, rolling up steadily through years and dynasties, had become a burden that the people would bear no longer. The royal name could no longer dam up the raging floods; they burst forth in fury, and the throne of England fell. The head of an English king rolled upon the scaffold. Thousands had clamored for the deed while smarting under Charles's tyranny, while daily proving his faithlessness to his solemn covenants; they had cried out that England could never be safe till the Stuart dynasty was wiped out in blood; yet at sight of the blood of a

king they paused and shuddered at their own deed, and while they stood in bewilderment every real fruit of the Revolution seemed likely to be stricken from their paralyzed hands. Milton rushed to the rescue. It was a time for swift, bold strokes, or all was lost. But there was a man equal to the emergency. He rallied, entreated, encouraged, reproved, reproached, shamed the timid, sternly rebuked the half-hearted, poured life into the faint, and rained the fiercest storm of his indignation upon the weak souls who shrunk from the consequences of their own deeds.

Through his transparent argumentation, the nation was shown the real foundation of all authority. To obey is a sin when the ruler commands what is wrong. "But who is to judge what is wrong?" inquire the timid ones. The Supreme Court—that sits in every man's conscience, a court from which there are no appeals. And before that court the state must argue its cause, and if it cannot win approval there, all its statutes are not worth a straw with the man who fears God. This "higher-law treason" is impregnably fortified in Milton's little tract on "*The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*," published in 1648-49.

While all around him cried out, in superstitious horror, that there was no precedent for such an act as arraigning and executing a king for high treason against his own subjects, Milton, with wonted boldness, answered that it was the mission of a free and noble nation to make precedents for all future ages. God's eternal laws are precedent enough, and these laws declare that kings are men, not divinities, holding their power only in trust for the good of their subjects.

"Since the king or magistrate holds his authority of the people, both originally and naturally, for their good in the first place, and not his own; then may the people, as oft as they shall judge it for the best, either choose him or reject him, retain him or depose him, though no tyrant, merely by the liberty and right of free-born men to be governed as seems to them best."—*Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*.

What havoc this makes with royal divinity! No wonder that the Tory lexicographer, that grand old hater, christened Milton "a surly republican."*

"No man who knows aught can be so stupid as to deny that all men naturally were born free, being the image and resemblance of God himself, and were by privilege, above all the creatures, born to command and not to obey."

It is needless to say, that here is the quarry out of which the Declaration of Independence was hewn.

Milton is described at this period of his life as a model of manly

* Lives of the Poets—Milton.

beauty; his countenance was fresh in its hue and frank in expression; his light brown hair parted in front and fell to his shoulders; he was vigorous and athletic, though not large in frame, self-possessed in his demeanor, elegant in manners, rich and musical in voice, and in conversational powers and command of language, unsurpassed, if equalled, since the English language has been spoken. He had read all the Greek classics before entering upon active life, and composed in Latin and English with about equal readiness. He read the Old Testament daily in Hebrew, and was well skilled in modern literature, especially the Italian. He was an enthusiastic lover of music, and played on several instruments, usually digesting his dinner to the music of an organ played by his own hands.

But though in this great national struggle he was by far the foremost man in intellectual abilities, he held no public position, and his daily life was that of a quiet student, teaching a few pupils at his house to obtain a livelihood, ruling his own household in old-fashioned Puritan style, as Mrs. Milton might testify, who thought him a trifle over-strenuous in insisting that the wife was the weaker vessel. While planting with his own hands the artillery to batter down thrones and hierarchies, while Europe had begun to ring with his fame, he was still Milton the schoolmaster, toiling for daily bread. He saw others infinitely less worthy winning honors and emoluments, yet never opened his lips to solicit them for himself, and never allowed his friends to lisp a word in his behalf. Even for these immortal works he had received no other recompense than the consciousness that he had done his duty.

But Cromwell could not permit such a man to remain long in his loved seclusion. That pen was too mighty ever to be idle, when such work was at hand; and Milton was summoned to the Council of State to spend all his time and strength for his country. The English people were to be vindicated at the bar of nations, and at the bar of history. England was against the world, for all the cabinets of Europe teemed with plots to overthrow the Commonwealth. The son of the deposed king wandered over Europe, stirring up the sympathies of princes and people in his behalf, engaged the celebrated Salmasius, a veteran in literature and controversy, and reputed the first scholar of the age, to attack the English people and accuse them of regicide and treason. A work from so distinguished an author, addressed to kings, and intended to crucify the English people for the execration of the world and of posterity, would naturally command universal attention. The Parliament looked over England for a knight to go down into the arena and meet the chosen champion of monarchs and hierarchs, and

their choice fell upon Milton. The odds seemed fearful, yet he faltered not an instant.

“*God and his son except,
Created thing naught valued he nor shunned.*”

Had he been in the least faint-hearted he might honorably have declined this contest, and even his enemies could not have taunted him with cowardice. Writing was fast becoming an impossibility to Milton. Study and intense intellectual labor had so impaired his sight, that his physicians warned him that such a task as this would insure his total blindness. But he thanked God that he had eyes to give for the defense of his country, and the last days of his waning vision were spent in the production of that treatise which has been styled “the most masterly work in all written controversy.” Salmasius stole away discomfited, and Milton’s noble utterances for liberty, and his burning invectives against slavish and superstitious despotism, flashed around the European thrones like a chain of linked thunderbolts.*

Prosperity now tried him in her furnace. He enjoyed all that power could give, for Cromwell was absolute; wealth was at his command, and he could hear the plaudits of a European fame. Yet he was the same calm, unselfish, frugal man, as when teaching his pupils for daily bread. How many a noble nature has been intoxicated by such draughts as these, and gone reeling to ruin!

So the years rolled on till the great Protector died. Then the tide began to turn again in favor of the exiled Stuarts. All the timid and wavering, all the court flies who buzz in the blaze of a throne, all the vast throng of political tailors and milliners who live upon the robes, vestments, and tapestries of royalty, all cried out to rear the throne again. Milton was cut to the heart to find his countrymen so unfit for free government. He was disgusted beyond measure with the parasites who licked the very feet of Cromwell, and were now hastening to fawn upon returning royalty. He threw pamphlet after pamphlet among the ignoble throng. He shouted, he sang, he wept by turns, but all in vain. Those deemed wise, in the base use of the word, were hastening with their gifts to hail the rising sun. Dryden and Waller, his brother bards, had sung for Cromwell the glory of the Commonwealth, and were preparing to sing for Charles the glory of the restoration.

Age was creeping on him; the furrows marked his smooth brow; the frost began to glisten on his auburn locks; the blessed sunshine never now greeted his sightless eye-balls; he knew that he should

* *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*—A Defense of the People of England in Answer to Salmasius’s Defense of the King.

be a target for hate and scorn, no man more marked than he ; but he calmly stood in his blindness, and heard the plaudits of the fickle crowd die away in the distance ; he heard the footsteps of retreating friends, of retreating honors and emoluments ; he heard the sea of hissing hate arising around him, yet still he stood ; he knew that his purpled and jeweled vestments were dropping from him, but he knew, too, that Milton's vestments were not Milton ; and though left naked in the biting air, to tread in solitary blindness his thorny path through the bleak wilderness of a poor old age, yet his great heart was whole in him, and the great God was mighty over him !

Milton's sonnet on his blindness is well known ; but we cannot forbear quoting a few lines from a prose letter, written by him on the same subject, both for its instructive and affecting details, and its unsurpassed moral sublimity. It is a letter written in 1654 to Leonard Philara, the Athenian :

" You would not suffer me to abandon the hope of recovering my sight, and informed me that you had an intimate friend at Paris, Dr. Thevenot, who was particularly celebrated in disorders of the eyes, whom you would consult about mine, if I would enable you to lay before him the causes and symptoms of my complaint. I will do what you desire, lest I should seem to reject that aid which, perhaps, may be offered me by Heaven. It is now, I think, about ten years since I perceived my vision to grow weak and dull. In the morning, if I began to read, as was my custom, my eyes ached intensely ; but were refreshed after a little corporeal exercise. The candle which I looked at seemed as it were encircled with a rainbow. Not long after, the sight in the left part of the left eye, (which I lost some years before the other,) became quite obscured, and prevented my discerning any object on that side. The sight in my other eye has now been gradually and sensibly vanishing away for about three years ; some months before it had entirely perished, though I stood motionless, everything which I looked at seemed in motion to and fro. A stiff cloudy vapor seemed to have settled on my forehead and temples. So that I often recollect what is said of the poet Phineas in the Argonautics :

'A stupor deep his cloudy temples bound,
And when he walked he seemed as whirling round,
Or in a feeble trance he speechless lay.'

" I ought not to omit, that while I had my sight left, as soon as I lay down on my bed and turned to either side, a flood of light used to gush from my closed eyelids. Then, as my sight became daily more impaired, the colors became more faint, and were emitted with a certain inward crackling sound ; but at present, every species of illumination being as it were extinguished, there is diffused around me nothing but darkness, or darkness mingled and streaked with an ashy brown. Yet the darkness in which I am perpetually immersed, seems always, both by night and day, to approach nearer to white than to black ; and when the eye is rolling in its socket, it admits a little particle of light as through a chink. And though your physician may kindle a small ray of hope, yet I make up my mind to the malady as quite incurable ; and I often reflect that, as the wise man admonishes, days of darkness are destined to each of us ; the darkness which I experience, less oppressive than of the tomb, is, owing to the singular goodness of the Deity, passed amid the pursuits of literature and the cheering salutations of friendship. But if, as

it is written, men shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God, why may not any one acquiesce in the privation of his sight, when God has so amply furnished his mind and conscience with eyes? While he so tenderly provides for me, while he so graciously leads me by the hand and conducts me on the way, I will, since it is his pleasure, rather rejoice than repine at being blind. And, my dear Philara, whatever may be the event, I wish you adieu, with no less courage and composure than if I had the eyes of a lynx."

But the "cheering salutations" and the elegant leisure for which he here expresses his gratitude, had now become things of the past; yet now,

"Though fallen on evil days,
On evil days though fallen and evil tongues,
In darkness, and with dangers compass'd round
And solitude,"

now, while dogged by poverty and bailiffs from one mean London lodging to another, while his immortal works in defense of liberty and his country were outlawed as the essence of treason, and burned by the common hangman; while tyranny, in the first flush of her power, held him in her grip and brandished the ax in his face—now, when all books are sealed to him forever, and nature's face vailed in eternal darkness, now was the hour, when, for the first time, his genius serenely rose in her native stature, snuffed her native air, spread her broad pinions in a congenial clime, sought with flashing eye the burning beam of immortal light, and, soaring sunward, drew after her the world's dazzled gaze. The work which alone insures the immortality of the English language, yes, and of English history too, for that must live, if for no other reason, as the setting of this jewel, the master-work of the architect, for which all others had been studies, was now to be reared.

The world had stood in amaze at the work of his *left hand*; now, rising in seraphic stature, his *right hand* he stretched forth and took down the harp, unreach'd since his blind brother bard had hung it there; the bard who sang "Pelides' wrath" on Troy's immortal plain. That harp, tuned in a loftier key, he took and sang God's wrath and Jesus' mercy on probation's world-extended plain. As Troy's walls rose to Orpheus's strains, so, as this harp was swept to its "dulcet symphonies," "rose, like an exhalation," the crystal wall of heaven, the nine-fold gate of hell, the palaces of angels,

"From diamond quarries hewn and rocks of gold;"

Pandemonium's "fabric huge," where archangels fallen "in horrid conclave sate,"

"A thousand demigods on golden seats;"

Satan,

"High on a throne of royal state, that far
Outshone the wealth of Ormus or of Ind;"

above all, the "throne and equipage of God's Almightyness," where "cherubic hosts stand thick as stars," and veil their vision with their golden wings, when

"Dark from excessive light his skirts appear."

We use Milton's own words to describe his work, for no other words are equal to the task; Milton only can portray Milton, and still more, *Paradise Lost* can only portray *Paradise Lost*.

A few significant facts strikingly set forth the "evil times" on which the poet had fallen. It was with great difficulty that a license could be obtained for the publication of *Paradise Lost*. The bold, free spirit of Christian manhood which rises to the surface here and there through almost every book, was too much for that degenerate age. Milton prayed the muse to grant him "*fit audience, though few*," but it was long doubtful whether even the "few" would be granted, to say nothing of the fitness. And when at last his offspring saw the light, Waller the poet, and no mean poet either, wrote thus to a friend: "The blind old schoolmaster, Milton, has published a tedious poem in twelve books, about the Fall of Man; if its length be not a merit, it has no other!" All that he ever received for immortalizing his mother tongue in *Paradise Lost* was the paltry sum of *ten pounds sterling*; compare this with the profits of Colburn's *Arithmetic*!

In a small, poorly furnished chamber, whose walls were hung with rusty green paper, neatly but frugally attired in black, sitting obliquely in his elbow chair, with one leg thrown over the arm, listening to his favorite old authors, as a friend dropped in for an hour to read aloud, hear his comments, and enjoy the rich flow of conversation from a mind fed from every province of human thought, Milton might have been seen in his closing years. He was generally grave, but never morose or melancholy; he maintained his serene equanimity, his unfaltering faith, through all the infirmities of age. His sun set as majestically as it rose, and at sixty-six he died.

It is the *man*, and not the writer, to whom we call attention here, and therefore are saved the presumption of discussing at all the verdict which the world has passed on his poetry; saved also from discussing why the richest, grandest, most exuberant prose in the English language has been so strangely neglected. In a thorough discussion of his merits as a Reformer, it would be unpardonable to pass over his reasonings and opinions on the subject of Marriage and

Divorce. Ranging at ease and fearlessly through the whole universe of human thought and opinion, accepting nothing simply because it was old, rejecting nothing simply because it was new, sternly testing all things for himself, calling up all the institutions of human society and all the most vital doctrines of human destiny before him in judgment, it were a miracle of miracles if his decisions were always wise and right. But that colossal stride with which he marches through all the domains of thought, and that humble godliness which keeps him everywhere a child, mark him as among that choice nobility of human nature which the traveling world brings forth at long and dreary intervals, scarce one in a thousand years. Milton the *man* is among the noblest of studies. His poetry is much lauded, but little read and less appreciated; his prose is read still less, and his character least of all, yet this is the noblest among his noble bequests to posterity.

We come to Milton, not merely to admire a type of the broadest mental and moral culture, not merely to listen to the music from the sylvan pipe of Lycidas, the airy shell of Comus, the rollicking violin and castanets of L'Allegro, the plaintive guitar of I'l Penserozo, the mellow harp of Paradise Regained, the booming muffled drum of Samson Agonistes, or to those rich, solemn organ peals that rose to the heaven of heavens, and sank to the hell of hells, when the minstrel, "rolling his eyes in vain to find the day," laid his hands on keys mortal fingers never dared to touch before; notes in which we hear now the "crisped brooks" of Eden

"Rolling on sands of orient pearl and gold,"

and now the shout that frightened Chaos and old night, when Satan's hosts

"Clashed on their sounding shields the din of war,"

melting here in wailing tenderness after the retiring footstep of weeping Eve, rolling there in crashing thunders upon the flying tread of the apostate angel, as repentant man and baffled fiend looked back on the flaming brand at the alabaster gate of *Paradise* forever *Lost*. We come to Milton to hear from every line the clarion notes of reform rolling down the ages; to see from every page his finger pointing heavenward; to learn how exhaustless are the resources of our mother tongue, its brawny Saxon strength, its Italian softness and melody, its Gallic vivacity and precision, its Grecian grace and glow and abundance, like the waters that sparkle, bubble, and roar among the Ægean isles; its Roman stateliness and grandeur, like the tramp of iron legions over the Appian pavements; its Hebrew swoop on the wings of cherubim and seraphim; yet more, far more,

we come not so much to see or hear anything that was his as to see and hear him, to hear and feel the vast pulsations of that mighty heart, throbbing on with its tides of thought and feeling; to mark what noble natures sometimes live in this murky, sin-reeking air of earth; we see how sublime a human life may be, and never doubt again that man is immortal.

ART. IV.—THE DOCTRINE OF ASSURANCE.

1. *The Witness of the Spirit*: a Treatise on the Evidence of the Believer's Adoption, by DANIEL WALTON. New-York: 1847.
2. *Lectures on Romans*, by THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D., LL.D. Lecture fifty-four. Romans viii, 16: "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." New-York: 1850.
3. *Sermons*, by Rev. RICHARD WATSON. VOL II, Sermon 104. The Spirit of Adoption. New-York: 1835.
4. *The Works of Bishop Sherlock*. Vol. I, Discourse 8. Romans viii, 16. London: 1830.
5. *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley, A. M.* Vol. I, Sermons 10, 11. The Witness of the Spirit. Sermon 12, The Witness of our own Spirit. New-York: 1835.

THE Divine scheme of human redemption provides for us the great privilege of becoming the sons of God. Next, in its importance to us, is the privilege of assurance. May we have an assurance that we are his children? Who are the witnesses to our gracious affiliation? What is their testimony? How is it conveyed to the soul? What measure of assurance may it afford? These questions are not new, nor yet obsolete. And they have lost none of their intrinsic interest. Nor have they, after all the disputation respecting them, been settled by a common consent of either Churches or divines. We propose, in this article, a discussion of the doctrine of assurance, with which these questions are intimately connected. It is not our design formally to review the works which we have cited; yet we shall notice them, more or less, as they touch upon the line of treatment which we shall pursue.

What is assurance? We have here nothing to do with the question, as it has been applied to the doctrine of final perseverance and salvation. We shall treat it only in relation to a present state of grace. Assurance is the persuasion or confidence which a Christian has, that he is a child of God. In its subjective character, or as it exists and is recognized in our consciousness, it is of the nature of

faith; faith not in the act of it, but in the confidence which accompanies, or, in the order of nature, follows it. Our consciousness plainly distinguishes between our act of faith, and the consequent persuasion which we feel of the truth of what we believe; the confidence with which we rest in its truth. Both the act of believing and this resulting confidence belong to a proper religious faith. Assurance is such a confidence of faith. There is a propriety in so defining it; for it is received in part, or so far as it respects the witness of our own spirit, through its natural mode, the proper belief of evidence that we are the children of God. Our mind perceives and credits this evidence; then we feel a confidence in the truth of what we believe. This confidence is assurance. We may further observe here that assurance, so far as derived from the witness of the Spirit, is a confidence of the same character, though received in a different mode; a point to be hereafter considered. But being subjectively the same in kind, it, too, may be called the confidence of faith.

Whence this assurance? We have already indicated. It comes from the joint testimony of two witnesses, the Holy Spirit and our own spirit. "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." All who allow any measure of assurance must, in reason, consent that there is a witness of our own spirit to our adoption. And there is generally an agreement among evangelical divines as to the nature and manner of its testimony. We shall, in the proper place, consider its mode and measure. And this will sufficiently include the fact of such a testimony. Our first inquiry is directed to the witness of the Spirit.

There is a distinct, immediate witness of the Holy Spirit to our adoption or sonship. In the language of Scripture, the Spirit bears witness with our spirit to this relation. But it gives a joint testimony simply in point of time and object, or fact, witnessing at the same time with our spirit to the same relation. It is a distinct and immediate witness, as it gives its own evidence in its own mode; not through the same mode and media with our spirit, but conveying it directly to the soul. Is there such a witness of the Spirit? Holy Scripture must furnish the only sufficient proof of it. Experience may be harmonious to it; even affirmative of it. Reason may be alike harmonious and affirmative. But neither can be alleged as an authority. We appeal to the Scriptures:

"The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." Rom. viii, 16.

First, we allege this text in proof that the Holy Spirit is a witness to our adoption. This is disputed. Even all reference to the Holy

Spirit is denied; and it is claimed that by the Spirit we must here understand the filial temper or disposition of the child of God. But surely the careful, unprejudiced reading of this chapter will bring us to a different conclusion. Let us note a few verses: "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death." Verse 2. "The Spirit of life" is a proper appellative of the Holy Spirit, who "is life," and who "quickeneth," or giveth life. And the Spirit here is not a gracious liberty from the law, or power, of sin and death; but the Spirit whose law or power achieves this freedom for us. This is the Holy Spirit; not any Christian temper. "The Spirit of God—the Spirit of Christ." Verse 9. Have we nothing here but the spirit or temper of a Christian? "If so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you." Ibid. Only a Christian spirit still? Now Christians are "the temple of the Holy Ghost," and "the habitation of God through the Spirit." These phrases must both mean the Holy Spirit, and not any gracious temper of a believer. And they are precisely parallel in sense to the above phrase. "But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you. Verse 11. The sense of this verse is, that the Spirit was the agent in the resurrection of Christ, who was, in fact, "put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit," and that it will be the agent in our resurrection. Here there is no Christian disposition or temper, but the Holy Spirit. "But ye have received the Spirit of adoption." Verse 15. And this is not the filial disposition of the adopted child, but the adopting Spirit, the Divine agent who places us in the family of God. Now that the Spirit, as the term is used in these passages, is the Holy Spirit, is thus placed beyond all reasonable doubt. Then why shall we so utterly change its sense when we come to the next verse? Here we read: *Αὐτὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα συμαρτυρεῖ, τῷ πνεύματι ἡμῶν*, "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit." What reason is there to conclude that here the Spirit signifies not the Holy Spirit, as in the preceding passages, but some Christian temper or disposition of the soul? Plainly, none at all. In no one of them are its personality and agency more fully and clearly expressed. Indeed, they are here noted with peculiar emphasis.

Next, this text contains very conclusive evidence that the Holy Spirit is a distinct witness to our adoption. The Greek verb, *συμαρτυρέω*, properly signifies to witness with another, and hence implies two or more distinct witnesses testifying to the same thing. We have not space to cite the many authorities at hand in support

of this sense. It is fully sustained by several of the authors placed at the head of this article.

"The apostle's term, *συμαρτυρέω*, 'beareth witness with,' is the very term which was used in the Greek language to denote a concurrence of testimony, when more than one witness testified to the same thing; and, as a plurality of witnesses was usually exhibited in courts of justice, those who were joined in giving testimony to the same point were called *συμαρτυρεῖς*, joint witnesses. . . . I have never found the word used in a different sense by any writer in any one instance."—*Mr. Walton.*

"As our translators have represented St. Paul's meaning, there is no room for dispute concerning the number of the witnesses, which are evidently two. But the words in the original evidently imply the sense which our translators follow. . . . *Συμαρτυρεῖν* signifies to be a fellow-witness, or to witness the same thing that another does; and so the word constantly signifies in Scripture, and is never used but where there is a concurrent evidence of two witnesses. . . . And this being the constant use of the word, there can be no reason given why it should not be taken in the same sense here. . . . Here, then, are two witnesses."—*Bishop Sherlock.*

We have not space for the conclusive authorities which these writers bring to the support of their position. But we may take the sense of two witnesses as fully established. And hence, beyond all question, the Spirit is one in itself; a distinct witness that we are the children of God.

Now this fact, that the Spirit is a distinct witness, involves the conclusion that it is an immediate witness. Any other interpretation must confound its testimony with that of our own spirit. Yet the two must be distinguished. Here are, in fact, two separate, independent witnesses; two separate, independent testimonies; and joint witnesses and testimonies only in point of time and the relation or fact witnessed to. And to avoid a confounding of the two, we must find an immediate witness of the Spirit. Some have fallen into this very error. And their failure to find any proper witness of the Spirit, while denying its directness, leaves us secure in the position that it is direct.

"The part that the Spirit of God hath had in this matter is, that he both graves upon us the lineaments of a living epistle of Christ Jesus, and tells us in the epistle of a written revelation what these lineaments are. The part which our own spirit has is, that with the eye of consciousness we read what is in ourselves; and with the eye of the understanding we read what is in the book of God's testimony. And upon our perceiving that such as the marks of grace which we find to be within, so are the marks of grace which we observe in the description of that word without that the Spirit hath indited, we arrive at the conclusion that we are born of God."—*Dr. Chalmers.*

Now here is but one witness. All the testimony brought to the heart is given by our own spirit. The Spirit has by regeneration wrought in the soul a new character, and by inspiration described it. But it does not hereby stand in the

office of a witness to that soul of its new character and relation, much less of a distinct witness. It has merely furnished the subject and material for the testimony of our own spirit. This is no witnessing of the spirit. A sculptor has wrought a statue. It must be identified, in order to determine its ownership. Testimony must be had for the identification. The artist has wrought the work and furnished an accurate description of it. He does nothing more. Another compares the statue and the description, observes their agreement, and then witnesses to the identity and ownership. In such a case, is the artist a proper witness, especially a distinct witness? Is he a witness at all? Would any counselor so introduce him? Would any court so recognize him? Surely not. He is not a witness. Yet this is all that is here allowed to the Spirit in the work of assurance; all that can be, upon any theory which denies the directness of its testimony. You may assume that the Scriptures are utterly silent respecting the witness of the Spirit; even that they directly deny it, and yet find all the evidence of adoption, contained in this definition, in the witness of our own spirit. Hence we must see that there is no medium between the direct witness of the Spirit and an utter denial of its office of witnessing. Therefore, from the plain Scripture fact that it is a witness, we have the sure conclusion that it is an immediate witness.

Bishop Sherlock runs into a similar error. He argues most conclusively for two witnesses, and for the distinct witness of the Spirit. But he assigns to it simply—and all of—the witness of our own spirit. He says:

"The power to do good comes from the influence of the Holy Spirit; and therefore the good we do is such an evidence of our being the sons of God, as we stand obliged to the Spirit of God for . . . The great privileges mentioned in this chapter, (Rom. viii,) such as being made free from the law of sin and death, of walking not after the flesh, but the Spirit, being such as we receive from the Spirit of God, are therefore evidences of the Spirit for our regeneration."

Now this theory excludes our own spirit from its proper sphere of testimony; in fact, leaves it no testimony at all. And every theory which denies the immediate witness of the Spirit, must either confound its testimony with that of our spirit, or else make the one exclude the other, and hence find but one witness. True, the bishop has sought elsewhere for the witness of our spirit, but with an utter failure of success. He has sought it in the mind's approval of the law, in its desires and efforts to obey it, as described in Rom. vii. Now a man conscious of these things in the experience of his own mind, has thereby the evidence that he is a child of God. And but

for the slavery of sin, which prevents his obedience, this evidence would be sufficient. The Spirit supplies the deficiency through the freedom from this bondage of sin which it achieves. Such is the witness of our spirit, in the theory of this author. But according to this theory, and most unfortunately for it, the witness of our spirit precedes the relation to which it gives its evidence. For even the bishop holds this state of bondage under sin to be that of nature, the unregenerate state. Hence he brings his witness to our sonship before the work of regeneration which constitutes us sons. Here, surely, his logic and theology both break down; and he is left with only one witness, after having clearly proved there are two. But he could do no better while denying the immediate witness of the Spirit. Besides, if the Spirit is a witness of our sonship only as the author of this relation, and of the fruits which characterize it, then it is not properly a witness at all. It is certainly a singular mode of witnessing to a relation in the very work which constitutes it; or to the work and its characteristics in the operation itself which produces them. The two are distinct in fact, and clearly distinguished in Scripture; and to confound them seems strange. A composition may have the impress of a particular author; it may be a lively picture of his peculiar modes of thought and style; a portrait or piece of sculpture may display the peculiar taste and skill of some particular artist. Now in any such case it might with propriety be said, that the work bore witness to the author, but not that he bore witness to the work, in the execution of it. Still less could it be said that the author, in the very characteristics which he impressed upon his work, and these characteristics themselves both gave witness to the work. Here is place for but one witness and but one testimony. And thus we reach the same conclusion, that if there be two witnesses—that if the Spirit be a distinct witness, a proper witness at all—its testimony is given, not in the work and fruit of regeneration, and not in the same mode and media with that of our spirit, but separately and immediately.

That the Holy Spirit is an immediate witness in its office of assurance, is the plain sense of Scripture. But for the better understanding of the few texts we have space to consider, let the points already established be remembered: that the Spirit is a witness to our sonship; and that it is a distinct witness, as there are two. We recur to the text from which these points were proved: "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." Now if there be a distinct, immediate witness of the Spirit, it could not easily be stated more clearly than in these words. A relation is testified to which must exist, in the order of nature,

before the testimony to it. We are the children of God: here is the relation. The Spirit beareth witness that we are the children of God: here is the testimony to the relation. Then surely, as the act of testifying is subsequent to this relation, it must be distinct from, as it must be subsequent to, the work of the Spirit in constituting the relation. And so its continuous witness must ever be distinct from its continuous work of regeneration or sanctification, whence spring the fruits or graces which characterize the children of God. Besides, as we have proved, to find this witness in these fruits is to confound the two witnesses and their testimonies. For it is through these fruits that our own spirit gives its evidence. Hence we must find the witness of the Spirit, not in the work of regeneration, nor in the fruits of that work, but in a distinct, immediate testimony to the soul, of its gracious adoption. "And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father." Gal. iv, 6. Here is the same doctrine. Again the relationship and the testimony to it are stated as two distinct things. "Ye are sons:" here is the relation. "God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father:" here is the testimony to it. This evidence comes after the relationship, and is given to it as already existing, and "because" it exists. Then it cannot be given in the work of regeneration, which constitutes us the sons of God, and which, therefore, must precede it; nor in the graces of the Spirit, which are the fruits of its work of regeneration. This, again, would be a confounding of the two witnesses and their testimonies; rather a dismission of the Holy Spirit from its office of witnessing. The only remaining conclusion is, that the Spirit is an immediate witness. And such is the plain sense of this text. "Because ye are sons," born of God and adopted into his family, "God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son," the Holy Spirit, "into your hearts," into the consciousness of the soul, "crying, Abba, Father," not in the sense of a special revelation, but in the mode of an immediate impression, producing therein the assurance of a gracious affiliation to God.

The priority of the Spirit's testimony to that of our spirit is introduced into this discussion. The mere question of its precedence we do not regard as material to the doctrine of assurance. But the argument usually brought in its support is erroneous, both in its philosophy and theology; and misleading in the analysis of the evidence given by the two witnesses. This argument alleges a necessity of precedence in the witness of the Spirit on the ground that the graces through which our own spirit gives its evidence are the fruits of its witnessing. And, therefore, as it must be first, and

produces these fruits by its witnessing, it must be an immediate witness. Such is this argument. And it is a common one with the authors of our own Church which we have cited. As it is with them the same in its principles, and of very similar form, it will suffice to quote from one:

"But is it not obvious to you, that love to God directly implies the knowledge of his love to us, as our reconciled Father? God's love to us is the cause of our love to him, and must therefore be known by us before we can love him. So, too, as to peace. Can we have this before we know whether we have peace with God, before we know that his anger is turned away from us? What is the cause of the distress of that penitent mourner in sin? He tells you, and he tells you truly, that it is because God is angry with him. Now, how do you propose to calm his agitation? You tell him to examine himself, whether he has peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, and that if he has, he may then infer that God's anger is turned away from him; that is, he feels he has not either peace or joy, and you tell him that, in order that he may obtain them; he is to construct an argument whose basis is, that both peace and joy are already in his possession. Brethren, love, and peace, and joy are all fruits of the Spirit, 'given unto us,' on our 'being justified by faith,' as the Spirit of adoption. The graces which the apostle enumerates constitute 'the fruit of the Spirit'; but his very first work, on our believing, and that by which this fruit is produced, is, to bear witness to our adoption into God's family, and thus to enable us to call God our father. The fruits of the Spirit flow from the witness of the Spirit."—*Mr. Watson.*

Now the entire basis of all this argument for the direct witness of the Spirit is an error. This basis is, that the fruits of the Spirit are in fact, and of necessity, from its work of witnessing. They are, in fact, the fruit of its work of regeneration; the instant out-growth of the new life thus wrought in the soul. The witness of the Spirit cannot produce them. And for this sufficient reason, it is not renewing or sanctifying. It is a witness of sonship, and hence supposes the previous work of regeneration, which constitutes us sons. And without this moral renovation, the clearest assurance of adoption could not yield us one fruit of the Spirit. As the works of the flesh spring naturally and freely from its depravity, so do the fruits of the Spirit spring from its regeneration of this corrupt nature. Hence its witness is not causatively, nor even conditionally necessary to these fruits. Regeneration is a mighty work, at once manifesting itself in the consciousness of the soul, even in love, and peace, and joy. Let us, with these authors, instance love. Their argument is, in substance, that, as the forgiving love of God is the necessary cause of our love to him, we cannot love him till assured by the Spirit's witness of such love to us. But this is only one of many reasons for our love; only one of many manifestations of Divine love to us. And this general conclusion from only one of so many particulars is illogical. Besides, upon our regeneration our own spirit, as we shall see, brings prompt assurance of God's forgiving

and saving love. In this very work his love is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost given unto us, and instantly flows back in love to him. And the Spirit's "very first work, on our believing, is," not "to bear witness to our adoption," but to renew us in the image of God. We have their appeal to the case of the penitent, agitated and alarmed under a sense of God's anger. "You tell him that he is to examine himself, whether he has peace and joy," in order to assurance of God's favor. No, we do not so direct him. And we say another thing: The Holy Spirit will not, as this argument claims it must, tell such a one, struggling with sin and trembling under the Divine wrath, that he is forgiven and adopted. He must first believe in Christ, and be forgiven and born of God. But, with this mighty change, whence the fruits of the Spirit so promptly spring, he is no longer the trembling, soul-crushed penitent, but a child of God. And his own spirit will be instant with the Spirit in witnessing to his gracious affiliation.

This argument has other errors. It misinterprets the witness of the Spirit by ascribing to it too much of detail in its testimony. According to it, the Spirit gives direct assurance to the soul of its forgiveness, of the love of God in that forgiveness, of its heavenly heirship, and so on. Now Holy Scripture is very definite in the declaration that the Spirit witnesses to our sonship, or that we are the children of God. We find nothing else than this relation. And whether we may go beyond, and include other things, is at least questionable. True, if assured of sonship, we have assurance of all these things; but not without the witness of our own spirit. Again, if, according to this argument, the fruits of the Spirit are from its witnessing, and if it manifests its testimony in the removal of a sense of guilt, in peace with God, in joy in the Holy Ghost, and in the consciousness of a great moral change, it is but a short and easy step to the logical conclusion that its witness is given in and by these fruits and manifestations. But then its evidence differs nothing from that of our spirit. There is, in fact, no further evidence for our spirit to give. But the witness of the Spirit has no such fruits and manifestations.

What, then, is the witness of the Spirit? It is a *confidence produced by the immediate agency of the Spirit in the mind of a believer, that he is a child of God.* It is nothing else, nothing more. Any other analysis must deny its immediateness, or confound it, more or less, with that of our spirit. Such is the sense of the texts which we have brought to the proof and exposition of this witness. It has no fruit or manifestation, except in this confidence, apart from regeneration or the witness of our spirit. It is a con-

fidence of sonship manifested in our consciousness. And being such a confidence, subjectively, as that of faith, the operation of the Spirit in producing it by an immediate agency may, with propriety, be called a witnessing. By such an agency is this confidence produced. It comes not through the consciousness of a gracious moral change; nor through any reasoning upon the fruits of the Spirit. There is no outward or inward voice; no direct communication to the intelligence; but an immediate operation in the consciousness. The work of the Spirit in producing this confidence is as immediate as in convincing of sin. There is surely a witness of our own spirit that we are sinners. And the Spirit may aid this testimony by making manifest the truth, and arresting our attention to it; by producing in the conscience a tender susceptibility to that truth. But all this does not include or supersede the direct witness of the Spirit (I may so express it) that we are sinners. It does by immediate agency produce in the soul a conviction of sin. This is one office of its mission, the work of which it is constantly performing. And to interpret all this as wrought through our own reflection upon our character in view of the truth, would contradict alike the sense of Scripture and the facts of experience. Often conviction of sin seizes upon the soul when the truth is not in our view, when we are utterly void of all reflection upon our moral character, and when the circumstances have no tendency seriously to impress us. Here is the immediate agency of the Spirit. Such is its agency in its work of assurance.

We have no concern to inquire further into the Spirit's mode of operation. This is a mystery. But it is a matter of no moment, as the measure and comfort of assurance in nowise depend upon its comprehension. There is an utter mystery of mode in the mind's hearing and seeing. Yet sounds are just as sweet and scenes are just as beautiful as though we fully comprehended their mode. So of the witness of the Spirit. We know not its mode. We allow no intellective recognition of its presence and operation. It has to us no mode. We receive the confidence of affiliation to God. We have it, we feel it, we rejoice in it. This confidence is the witness of the Spirit.

The witness of our own spirit. There is generally an agreement among evangelical divines, not only as to the fact, but also as to the nature and process of its testimony. The witness of our spirit is mediate or indirect. It may receive, but cannot give immediate evidence of adoption. It derives its testimony from a comparison of our experience and life with the word of God. The Scriptures note various things as characteristics of his children. We are cog-

nizant of these things as facts of our own experience and life. We find, upon comparison, an agreement of these facts of experience and life with these Scripture characteristics. Our own spirit hence derives to itself the authorized inference, the sure persuasion, that we are the children of God. Such is the process by which our spirit witnesses to our sonship; such the nature and mode of its evidence. Let us further develop its testimony.

The children of God are delivered from condemnation. "There is, therefore, now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus." Rom. viii, 1. Here are moral states and a moral charge which manifest themselves in the consciousness of the soul. Whoever will look into this and the previous chapter, and study, as the apostle has drawn it, the portrait of the slavery of the soul under the bondage of sin and the body of death, of the felt condemnation of the law under which the awakened conscience labors, and of the change from all this to a state of approval and peace with God, will plainly see that they are such as clearly to manifest themselves in the consciousness of one who has the experience of them. Now such a one, fully cognizant of these facts of experience, and rejoicing in freedom from condemnation, and in "the peace of God," comes with his experience to the Scriptures, and finds in these things an exact agreement. Hence his spirit brings to him the evidence and assurance of his affiliation to God. "And hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him. Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God."

The children of God love him. "Love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God." Here is another plain characteristic of his children. Love is an affection of which the mind is conscious. We know when we love, and whom we love. One knows that he loves God. He comes with this experience to the Scriptures, and reads: "The carnal mind is enmity against God." But he knows, he feels that his mind is not enmity against God; and hence that he is not now carnal, sold under sin. He reads again: "Love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God." And hence his spirit, conscious of this love, brings to him the assurance that he is born of God, and therefore the child of his adoption.

The children of God love one another. "If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us." One feels that he loves his fellow Christians; and that, because they are Christians. He is just as conscious of this as of any other affection, parental or filial, or fraternal, that ever glowed in his heart. Then he reads in the Scriptures: "If we love one another, God dwelleth in us;" and "We know that we have passed from death unto life,

because we love the brethren." Now finding this love in his own experience, he has the assurance that God dwells in him, that he has passed from death unto life, and, therefore, that he is a child of God. Thus, again, his own spirit bears witness to his sonship.

The children of God are obedient to his will, or righteous in life. "Every one that doeth righteousness is born of him." In view of this test, the Christian prayerfully studies the word of God, as the rule of life. He carefully and closely searches into his own conduct to see if it conforms to this rule. He examines closely his purposes and principles, and the ruling motives of his life. After all this, and upon the most honest and enlightened estimate which he can form, he feels that he does conscientiously and cheerfully obey God. And, comparing this fact with the declaration that "every one that doeth righteousness is born of him," his spirit witnesses to him that he is born of God, and, therefore, his child. "This is our rejoicing, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and Godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world."

The children of God are led by the Holy Spirit. "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." Here is another plain test of our gracious affiliation. By this criterion may every man determine his relation to God. Connect with it the words of St. Paul: "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace," etc.; for we shall bear all these fruits if we be led by the Spirit. Then look at these fruits as they stand in contrast to the works of the flesh, described in the same connection. We shall thus find the difference so great, the contrast so wide and striking, that we can easily determine whether we yield and cherish the one class or the other. But without this comparison or contrast, note more particularly some of these fruits. We have already spoken of love in another connection. Peace: this is a fruit of the Spirit, and a blessing of Christian experience. Till the gracious change which redeems us from sin, and especially during the period of penitence, the soul is full of unrest and disquiet, full of agitation and trouble, like the sea swelling and tossing under the tempest-winds. But when changed by grace, trouble and agitation give place to peace. God speaks to the winds and the waves, and there is a great calm. Now the soul is full of peace. Joy: this, too, is a fruit of the Spirit. As a sinner, as an awakened sinner, man has no joy. Sorrow fills his heart, and words of mourning dwell upon his lips. But when born of the Spirit, gladness and joy spring up in his soul; and while led by the Spirit, he continues to have this fruit of joy. Now one finds in his experience all these fruits of the Spirit, all these evidences that he is

led by the Spirit. He comes with this experience to the Scriptures, and reads: "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." And he hence has the witness of his own spirit that he is a child of God.

Such is the witness of our spirit, such the mode and media of its testimony. But we must not hence infer that usually a long course of reasoning must be instituted before we can receive its evidence. The fact is far otherwise. There are states of mind when its reasoning processes are exceeding rapid, and its logical conclusions reached as in an instant. Such is eminently the fact here. Let us instance in conversion. We know its characteristics beforehand. We wait in penitence for it in the manifestation of peace, and joy, and love, in the clear sense of a great and happy moral change. Regeneration comes suddenly with all these manifestations. It instantly reveals and identifies itself in the consciousness of the soul; and we have as instantly the assurance that we are the children of God. There are exceptions. We know nothing of a gradual regeneration; there may be such. But its manifestation in our consciousness is sometimes gradual. Here our spirit will of course move more slowly in its induction. Nor is the manifestation of the Spirit's witness, in such instances, more rapid. It is but reasonable, and in nowise contradicted by experience, that the two witnesses proceed together. And we must not conclude that, because the Spirit's witnessing is immediate, it is therefore instantly full in its manifestation. This would contradict the facts of experience in the instances of a gradual assurance. And usually, in the progress of a true Christian life, our spirit is equally prompt in its witnessing. When the religious state is low, and Christian affections and motives but feebly felt, its evidence, while less conclusive, will be more slowly given. The evidences being feeble, we need more of them, in order to assurance, and hence, must institute a wider and more careful comparison of our experience and life with the Scripture notes of the children of God. Hence the process of testimony must be more lengthy and tardy. The same may be requisite in times of sore temptation and trial, whereby the soul is brought into heaviness and doubt. But usually, with a true and lively state of grace, our spirit will require a period of time scarcely appreciable for the process of its witnessing. Nor is the certainty or sufficiency of its testimony hereby in the least impaired.

There is from the witness of our spirit a resulting confidence of a gracious adoption. This is properly the confidence of faith, because it results from the belief of various evidences that we are the children of God. Now upon the belief of these evidences, we rest

with confidence in the truth of the relation which they prove; in the confidence that we are the children of God. This confidence is assurance, as we receive it from the witness of our own spirit. But we must not infer that there is in assurance a twofold confidence, one from each witness, and such as our consciousness may discriminate. The two, if we may speak of two, blend into one. Consciousness recognizes no distinction. Subjectively, there is but one confidence, and hence no distinction to recognize.

Such is assurance, and such the witnesses and evidence whence it must be derived. May we hence have assurance? Or what measure of it may we have? But before we attempt a direct answer to these questions, we must give attention to a few points or facts regarded as difficulties or objections.

One fact is the denial, on the part of good men, of the immediate witness of the Spirit. That such men, and withal closely observant of all the facts of their religious experience, of all the cognitions of their consciousness, have made this denial is not to be questioned. We may instance Dr. Chalmers: "I could not, without making my own doctrine outstrip my own experience, vouch for any other intimation of the Spirit of God, than that which he gives in the act of making the word of God clear to you, and the state of your own heart clear to you." Now how is such a denial reconcilable to the fact of an immediate witness of the Spirit. Very easily, upon our analysis of its witnessing. Its witnessing is the producing of a confidence of sonship. But, as we have seen, our mind does not recognize the Spirit, nor distinguish between this confidence, subjectively considered, (the only light in which it can be here regarded,) and that from the witness of our spirit. Now Dr. Chalmers did not deny assurance. He claimed the confidence of sonship, and rejoiced in it. Hence his experience, being the same subjectively that it would have been upon the fact, and upon his belief in the fact, of the immediate witness of the Spirit, can allege nothing against it as a fact. And all such difficulties have weight, not against such a witness itself, but against false theories respecting it.

Another such fact is the denial, on the part of good men, of assurance. This is more difficult of solution. But to what extent is the denial of such? It only reaches to an uncertainty of a gracious state; rather, to a want of certainty. They will not deny to themselves a regenerate state. Then, further, their denial is a matter of theory rather than of experience. Talk with them of their experience; let them tell you of their comfort and hope; of their confidence in God as their friend and father. Now you ascertain hereby that the language of their experience is a profession of assurance,

and that their denial of it is a matter of theory, proceeding, not from their experience, but from their creed. Look again to the facts of their experience and life, as they will give them to you, and you will find them such as to warrant some measure of assurance. Then their denial makes nothing against so much of assurance, as a privilege. Besides, assurance is, conditionally, greatly under our influence. As we believe it, and look to God in prayer for it, so will its evidences be manifested to the heart. This is true even of the witness of the Spirit. The want of such faith and prayer must greatly lessen this manifestation. Then the disbelief of assurance as a privilege must, by direct influence, weaken the perception of the remaining evidence for it. And, still, there is in the mind a power to reject what remains of assurance, as such, or, at least, to place it in uncertainty.

It is objected to the doctrine of assurance, that many have been deceived in the profession of it, and that others have been fanatical respecting it. These are not valid objections. What would remain as true in religious experience, if fanaticism respecting it would disprove its truth? And the false profession of assurance makes nothing against its truth; certainly nothing, if such profession is dishonest. But suppose it sincere, still it makes nothing. Error is very common, even when it might be avoided, and truth obtained. In such case error is not the fault of the subject, nor of the evidence, but of the person who assumes his proposition or conclusion without due regard to the evidence which must support it. Thus it is here. One claims to be a child of God, assuming, without due consideration, that he has the witness of the Spirit, and considering but little or nothing whether he has the witness of his own spirit. Such a one may have the confidence that he is a child of God. He can but have this confidence, if he fully believes, however falsely, that he is his child. His error, and the fault of it, are his own. Hence his self-deception is no objection to the doctrine of assurance.

Assurance admits of degrees. And there are sufficient reasons why it should have its gradations in the experience of believers. In the instance of regeneration, there are many things to influence the measure of its manifestation in our consciousness. Our past lives are different in the character and measure of sinfulness. Our temperaments are very different. Some have much gentleness, and others great intensity of emotion. Our conversions are different, in the suddenness and intensity of conviction, and in the instantaneous and manifest power of regeneration. All these things must have great influence in determining the measure of assurance for our regeneration. Then our temperament must carry its in-

fluence through the experiences of our Christian life. Some, with their pensive spirit and gentle affections, their timid, doubting turn, their hesitant belief of anything respecting their own spiritual good, will have less confidence of their gracious adoption. Others, with their joyous spirit and fervid affections, their hopeful, trusting turn, will have greater strength of assurance. Then, as a general principle, the measure of assurance must correspond to the measure of religion. The higher attainment in grace and fuller devotion in life must afford clearer and stronger evidences of adoption than the lower attainment and the less devotion. The Spirit, in its witnessing, will usually observe the same principle. It could not produce its fuller measure of confidence where the religious life is low, without serious detriment to such soul. It is far better and safer for the soul that it should give assurance according to the religious state and life.

But with all these things to influence the measure of filial confidence, a comfortable persuasion of adoption is the common privilege of true believers. Report to two persons some good tidings, equally concerning them. Both believe it, and rest in its truth. Confidence, however, is far more forcible and joyous with the one than the other; yet both have a comfortable confidence in the good tidings. Go with another and look upon a landscape. While you both look, his emotion of the beautiful is far more intense than yours. Yet you are as certainly sensible of the beautiful as he. Or, two persons have conviction for sin; but one with far deeper pungency than the other; yet both have a felt persuasion of sinfulness. And so of assurance. It may range through many degrees of confidence and joy, while the soul has, through all, a comfortable persuasion of its adoption. The character of the witnesses and the nature of their testimony both warrant the position of a comfortable assurance as the common privilege of true believers.

The Holy Spirit is an all-competent witness. This none can reasonably deny, or even doubt. It is the Author of our regeneration and adoption; knows the truth of our gracious affiliation; and can easily produce, by an immediate agency, the confidence of it in the consciousness of the soul. As the Spirit communicates Divine truth, or the knowledge of past or future events, to the mind by an immediate inspiration, and in entire independence of all the usual or mediate processes for its acquirement; as, by direct action upon the conscience, it produces conviction of sin and a sense of the Divine displeasure, so, by an immediate agency, it can and does produce in the soul a confidence of sonship. In such an economy God has surely designed, and provided for us, the blessing of assurance.

And equally is this blessing provided for in the witness of our

own spirit. We have before explained the media and mode of its testimony. It is by a comparison of the facts of our religious experience and life with the Scripture notes of the true Christian character. Now these Scripture notes are infallible; and they are so fully and distinctly given, as to be easily and clearly discerned and known. Then the strength of this testimony will depend upon the certainty with which we may know the agreement between these Scripture notes and the facts of our religious experience and life. And this, again, will depend upon the measure and certainty of our knowledge of these facts. Beyond this all is easy and plain. Now may we surely know these facts? I think we may; and for the very reason that they are facts of experience and plain observation. Look at the change wrought in us at our conversion, and at the fruits of the Spirit developed in the new life. Conversion is a recovery from guilt and condemnation into a state of justification; from the bondage of sin into the liberty of the Gospel; from darkness to light; from death unto life; from fear to hope; from hatred to love; from the unrest and trouble of sin to peace and joy in the Holy Ghost; from a fearful sense of God's displeasure to a reposing trust in his love; from the indifference of the soul's slumber to wakefulness to its spiritual welfare; from profanity or thoughtlessness to prayer; from rebellion to obedience; from selfish and earthly motives and pleasures to benevolent and spiritual ones. Surely these states, which so fully enter into our experience, are such in themselves, and so widely different, that we can clearly distinguish them, and determine which we are in, or whether we have passed through this great and gracious change. Then the experiences of this new life are carried forward through its progress, with continued power for manifesting and identifying themselves in the consciousness of the soul. And all the while the outward life lies under our open inspection, enabling us to determine whether it conforms to the Scripture requirements of the children of God. Now, with the knowledge of these facts of our religious experience and life, we may bring them to a comparison with the word of God, and clearly discern their agreement with the Scripture notes of his children. Thus we shall have strong evidence from the witness of our spirit for our sonship, and, in its witnessing, ample and safe ground for assurance.

And the joint testimony of the two witnesses greatly enlarges and secures this ground of assurance. Their testimonies strengthen each other, and unite in securing us against error, and in increasing our confidence. See how they co-operate. The Holy Spirit renews us in the image of God; develops in us all the parts and features of

the new man; leads us in all the ways of obedience; then it witnesses immediately to the soul of each, Thou art a child of God. And now the Christian, cognizant of this new life in himself, seeks in the Scriptures for the portrait of the children of God, and finding his own character answering to it as face to face in a glass, his own spirit, in harmony with the Spirit, witnesses to him, Thou art a child of God. Or, here is a good man, with a good and happy family. Friendship and love unite him and them. They love one another, and find pleasure in their father's will. This good man takes a child of orphanage, of poverty and wretchedness, and, at his earnest seeking and prayer, adopts him into his own family. Now, he says to him, Thou art my son. Here is the direct witness. Then this child reads from under this good man's own hand, thus: "I love all my children, and grant them free access to me; provide for them and protect them. They all love me and cheerfully obey me. They love one another, and find pleasure in each other's fellowship." But he knows, he feels that all this is true of himself. And now his heart responds, in the language of confidence, I am his child. Here is the indirect witness. And these two witnessings confirm each other, and furnish ample and safe ground for assurance. Such is the joint witnessing of the Spirit with our spirit, that we are the children of God.

ART. V.—THE NATURAL REVOLUTIONS OF LANGUAGE.

The Natural Revolutions of Language, traced through the Indo-European Tongues, the Greek, the Latin, and the Decomposition of the latter into the Dialects of modern Europe, by M. FAURIEL, in a course of Lectures to the Faculty of Letters of Paris. 1854.

THE origin of languages at any time, however recent, is not a simple, an isolate, an absolute fact, to which a date may be affixed as to a war or to a revolution. Slow, gradual, and nearly imperceptible at first, the transformation is observed but at the end of many ages. It is of the class of those phenomena which escape ordinary notice on account of their generality, continuity, and necessity. The generations that concur to them remain unconscious of their existence, much as they do of the life that animates them or the atmosphere they breathe. And when the language has at last attained a

prominence to strike attention, it is then too late to go in quest of the origin.

The escape from this dilemma is through the history of languages, interpreted by the philosophy of society. The former, as the earliest and continuous instrument of sociability, must have been subject to a like succession of revolutions. There are also other changes and entire extinctions in the fate of languages as in the destiny of the communities who speak them. But these, proceeding from extraneous causes, may be here discarded as accidental, to pursue but the intrinsic and the natural evolution.

This evolution has a double aspect, exterior and interior; exterior as regards the principles of the progressive concentration whereby the multitude of local idioms are at last resolved into a national tongue; interior as respects the grammar, the organic constitution.

The former point of view, the propagation of language from individual to family, from family to tribe, from tribe to petty nation, is that which lies within the dark alluded to; but indirectly, we may deduce it, in its general order and distinctive stages, from the known history of the political agglomeration of the speakers. By thus prefixing the restored section to the earliest fully-formed national idiom, of course the earliest that remains to us in the integrity of its constitution, and which offers, on the other hand, the most extended affiliations, or influences most deeply the greatest number of posterior languages, we have the broadest historic basis for a philosophical investigation. The Sanscrit, with its long line of Indo-European derivatives, presents the national development and requisite conditions, and the preliminary section may be had from living savage idioms. Such are then the basis and the method of procedure for investigating language generally, in its interior revolutions.

In this respect, the rudest idioms present us with a strange phenomenon. Instead of being, as one should fancy them, extremely simple, poor, and formless, the more barbarian will be found the richest, if not precisely in syntactic forms, at least in forms queer, complicated, and apparently ingenious. The idioms of the American savages afford a signal example. In these the verb marks not alone, as in our languages, the general circumstances of the action or the state, such as the tense, the mood, the person; but, moreover, a multitude of accessory particulars, accidental shadings, minute modifications, going all to specialize or individualize the state or action. The Peruvians go still further, having distinct forms of the verb to express action by a single person, by two reciprocally, or by several;

also to denote the different directions of motion, upward, downward, inward, outward, etc. So, too, with the negro idioms of Africa. In fine, the valleys of the Pyrenees present an instance still more curious, to the same effect, in the antique language of the Biscayans.

Is this seemingly grammatical, nay, metaphysical refinement to be accepted as implying advancement in the idiom or its speakers? The mere statement of such a notion must exhibit its absurdity, although it still remains the current doctrine more or less explicitly upon the subject. The tatooings of the savage would as well evince superior taste. Not the number and intricacy, but the simplicity and generality of grammatical forms mark the progress of language. This progression might be traced already in those rude idioms, had we their history. The ancient languages which we have records of, at distant intervals in this career, present us all this universal tendency from the more complicate to the more simple. In growing older they drop off gradually their original forms. "*Synthetic* in the beginning, they undergo a decomposition, of which the result is to render them progressively more analytic."

On this last statement of the author, which involves a fundamental error, it becomes imperative to interpose a word of caution to the reader. The condition called *synthetic* is neither the primary state of languages, nor could it properly be named synthetic in relation to the whole development. We know of several savage idioms almost devoid of the forms mentioned; for example, among the Polynesian islanders. The spoken language of the Chinese is a fossil remnant of the same epoch, and yet it is not very famous for grammatical inflections; the author himself instances, we saw, the idioms of the Peruvians as still more complex than those of even the North American savages; and yet the former were a highly polished, a civilized people in comparison. There is at first, then, a progression of syntactic forms or agglomerations, on the contrary, from the simple to the complex.

Nor could this species of complexity in its highest maturity be called synthetical, in any adequate conception of a scientific distribution. By synthesis, which is precisely, because exclusively, a technical term, is or ought to be understood, not a mere *taking* together, but a *putting* together, deliberately, systematically. It is, therefore, a procedure for an age of science in any subject, and above all subjects, that of language, which is the latest to be brought to science. Accordingly, the author omits entirely from his theory this great future of the development of language, thus curtailing his conception at the last as well as first extremity. We should observe,

that he is not by any means alone in the double error; he partakes it quite in common with the larger portion of the reactionists against the puerile supposition of the perfection of the savage idioms. These new philologists, although incomparably in advance of the preceding, yet take in turn, like all reactionists, but an imperfect view of the subject. Having noticed and established the analytic phase of evolution, which is that through which, since history, the riper languages have all been passing, these pragmatical inquirers infer the future must be like the past, in the well-known terms of an axiom of the sect, although the starting-point of their opposition presents a point-blank contradiction. For the state of language they call synthetic, and which is a form of the *past*, is yet not like, but the very reverse to the relative *future* of their own analysis. But their habitual scope of reasoning does not extend to even this amplitude, and savors of the geographical horizon of the primitive man. Like him, they summarily fancy, to elude the contradiction noted, that their "synthetic" state of language is the mountain ridge that bounds the earth; that it sprung up instantaneously, there being no trace left of progression; that it is a *lusus naturæ*, like the fossil plants in the Dark Ages.

Not that this is done by sophistry or with intention of evasion; we are transcribing not the spirit of the men, but of their method. It has been seen that M. Fauriel makes a quite formal recognition of a progressive complication that must be anterior to the state in question. Accordingly, it is not his admissions that we complain of, but his arguments and theory which run thereafter counter to them. Most, the rest of his school of thinking do not even admit vaguely; and this, undoubtedly, because they do not see so far as M. Fauriel. They all retire through real despair, but with an air of prudent resignation, from the two extremities of this vast subject, plunged in the past and in the future. They do not seem to know that nature, in the most restricted of her revolutions, revolutions thus directly within the span of man or history, presents a method for the exploration analogically of her whole economy. For if the future be not always, and is strictly never, like the past, it is certain at least that nature is always like herself; for things quite different in the *terms* may be quite identical in their *relations*.

But nature teaches that in language as in all the other arts and sciences, it is the final state that is synthetic, and not the primitive. The latter might be named agglomerative, or, as sometimes, "agglutinated," the term given it by the celebrated William Von Humboldt, who was too much the philosopher not to distinguish it from strict synthesis. Or it would better still be named *Inductive*, both be-

cause its nature is really such, as well as also for its correlation to Analytic and Synthetic.

Of these three necessary, complemental, and progressive periods of formation in both the art and science of language, just the same as in all others, the middle only is the phrase included in our author's theory and illustration. So that, while rectifying the former, we have also defined the latter, and may proceed in the analysis without much future interruption.

The author then goes on intelligently, to explain the reason of the priority of the state of complication which he improperly names synthesis. Languages do but obey the general laws of the intelligence in the formation of all its ideas and its acquisitions. From its first glance upon the outer world, the mind "takes all things *by masses, wholes*, of which it does not discern the details." The earliest result of its action is *synthetic*." [Here is, in the author's own words, the radical error just exposed, and which amounts, we see, to complete contrariety; for "wholes," *as such*, so far from being synthetic, are not even complex, but purely simple; and the procedure upon wholes is *inductive*.] But on reviewing, the author continues, this first survey of things by aggregates, the mind distinguishes and separates what was before confounded: "it decomposes to recompose; it analyzes." (P. 13.) The decomposition is the analysis; but where is the "recomposition?" The author had pre-occupied the term synthesis at the foremost end, and was thus led to comprise crudely this final process in analysis. It would be difficult to meet a fundamental error betrayed so fully by the well-informed but ill-digested intelligence of the maker, or a correction more precisely justified, by even the blundering, than that submitted.

Passing now to trace the progress of this analytic evolution from the condition of induction or inflection, we commence with the Sanscrit fountain of the series as delineated. The Sanscrit and its European and even Asiatic affiliations are now, and have for ages back been all dead. They survive but in the liturgies of religion or dead literatures. They are succeeded by a class of idioms derived from them immediately, and uniformly by the same tendencies and processes of the intelligence. Accordingly, these secondary idioms all resemble in the main features of their formation and their procession from the principles. The character of this procession is a progressive "simplification, truncation, and impoverishment" of the mother tongue, affecting chiefly the declensions and conjugations. The mode of operation of the decomposition is as follows:

In the declension, what were called cases or terminations in the primitive idiom, are in the secondary substituted by prepositions and chiefly articles. In conjugation, all the circumstances, noted similarly by the primitive verb, are in the second stage denoted by conjunctions and by auxiliaries. This is the characteristic feature of the transition. It is traceable through the whole family of languages called Indo-European. Though in different degrees, it is exhibited in distinct progress in the Celtic, the Gaelic, the Gothic, the Slavic, the Sanscrit, the Greek, and the Latin. To pursue it in the last only is the main object of the author; but to this end, he thinks it proper to premise a survey of the Greek and Sanscrit.

The Hindoos are not originally of the Indian peninsula, but came from the Northwest, with their religion and their language formed. They found a native population with their languages in great variety. The latter had not been subdued with the same completeness as the speakers; they left some traces in the close-compacted texture of the Sanscrit. A proof that religion and nationality are less tenacious than language.

The Sanscrit appears, in fact, to be the most elaborate of all tongues in ingenuity, in abundance, and even euphony. It is this that suggests the question if it ever was a spoken language. The question is absurd, but touches others much more serious.

If a language so artificial and so learned as the Sanscrit can ever really have been common over so extensive a range of territory, it must inevitably not have been for a long time. Another cause of degradation would be the diversity of classes. The pariahs and trade castes cannot have spoken Sanscrit accurately. We must therefore suppose the distant and the degraded portions of the people to have made use of other idioms, either native or *patois*. An application of this fact will be made afterward to the Latin.

Of the *patois*, or degradation of the main idiom, there is direct evidence. Even in the dramatic literature of the Brahmin caste itself, there was already a divergence from the noble idiom, named the *Pracrit*. It is the dialect of women, even goddesses, and mere mortals; the gods employ Sanscrit, as do the men, except buffoons, whose under part upon the stage was deemed to class them with the women. The difference between the Sanscrit and the Pracrit is, however, slight; it turns not at all upon the complication, which remains the same; the change consists in greater freedom of pronunciation and accentuation, which made the *Pracrit* more adapted to the ear and stage, as to the sex.

Besides the Pracrit, which is found but in the dramatic literature, the Sanscrit had another dialect, still more curious, named the *Pali*,

and which was the sacred idiom of the Buddists. It is the least agglomerative or agglutinated of the three preceding forms; had already, some five centuries before the Christian era, relinquished the dual form, and reduced the number of the declensions. The alteration from the Sanscrit is still more marked in the conjugation; the passive voice has, in the *Pali*, lost a number of its tenses; the active, some; and several affixes of personality are either damaged or detached. The pronunciation is also modified by alteration of the syllables from the rigid regularity of the Sanscrit. The change in general is likened, by the late M. Burnouf, to the passage from the Latin to the Italian. The full exactness might, however, be with reason called in question, if we remember that the Buddists were a philosophic sect; whereas the change into Italian was a barbarous degeneration.

The only dialect of the Sanscrit, become fully popular, was the *Bengali*, spoken in the northeast India, on the banks of the Ganges. Possessing a rich literature, and long cotemporary with the living Sanscrit, the Bengali has, on cessation of the mother tongue, assumed its place throughout the region which bears the name of Bengal. It is, doubtless, since this substitution (which, it is thought, may have been caused by the subversion of the government on the Mohammedan invasion) that the Bengali acquired its literature and its polish. Our author will revert to its grammatical construction, after tracing down the decomposition of the Greek language to the like condition.

A first remarkable distinction between the Sanscrit and the Greek is, that the former, at whatever epoch, presents internally no dialects; whereas the latter is well known to have had four at the dawn of history; and it is certain that these were summaries of perhaps several dozen others, that had been gradually merged in them respectively. This concentration went hand in hand with the political, as usual; it even followed the predominance among the independent states. The four dialects, at the period of the Peloponnesian war, had been substantially reduced to two, the Attic and the Doric. With the conquest of the Macedonians, the Attic dialect ruled alone, or rather the principle of the supremacy was placed more worthily in Attic literature.

This renowned literature was that which vanquished to science, eloquence and taste, the Roman conquerors, in turn, of Greece. It became throughout the Roman empire much what the French is now in Russia. Throughout the whole Grecian East the Attic dialect was the common tongue, and so continued till the fall of Constantinople; the common tongue, that is, of literature and the refined

classes of society. But these being scattered into ruin or exile by the calamity of the capital, the popular dialect was left alone to take its place. Hence immediately the present idiom, which the nations call *Romaic*. The question is how it proceeded from the antique form of the language.

The grammatical decomposition commenced as early as the poems of Homer. For an example in the auxiliaries, this poet describing, in the Iliad, a herald who is going in haste to fulfill an urgent message, says: *Bῆ δε θεῖν*; "that is, he *went* or *walked to run*, instead of *he ran*." In this expression the word *Bῆ*, in the opinion of the author, discharges evidently but the function of an auxiliary. We must take leave again to differ from him, not alone as to the instance, but also in the loose notion which he seems to form of the auxiliary. His construction of the example is evidently wrong. The true import, in fact, is neither that the herald "went" or "walked to run," either form of which runs quite closely to the confines of stark nonsense. The plain meaning of the phrase is that the herald "went by running." It is *θεῖν* that is *adverbial*, and not *Bῆ* that is auxiliary. The learned author had been spared this blunder by a proper notion of the auxiliary. It is not every verb, as he imagines, that, however general, can play this part. There are and can be, as far at least as human languages are yet developed, but three auxiliaries, the same in all, and the same in order of origination. They are the verbs expressing *existence*, *volition*, and progression or *relation*. Any others are but certain aspects of these three typical forms, which have their origin in this order in the history of all languages.

Accordingly, the author notes the rise of two of these forms, *Eἰμι* and *Ἐχω*, (*to be* and *to have*,) successively with the logographs and the dramatists. In the latter, Sophocles has ἐκβαλοῦσ' ἔχεις, for ἐκέβληκας, and Plato, Θαυμάσας ἔχω, for τεθαύμακα. The auxiliary of volition also, he notes some germs of in even Homer, where ἐθέλω is used, he thinks, to analyze the second future. But here again we think he is mistaken, as even *ἔμι*, which precedes it, is not employed as an auxiliary by Homer. Indeed, he has himself the candor to concede it in this instance. "Grammatically speaking," says he, "it may be contested that it is an auxiliary, and we may regard the verb *θέλω* as a principal verb, having a proper and explicit value." (P. 56.) Just the same, in truth, as *Bῆ* had, but less clearly, in the previous instance.

The decomposition, which went on thus in the Greek language from Homer downward, presents an exact parallel to that of the Sanscrit in the Bengali. The Greek and Sanscrit, of the same

family, and very probably the same antiquity, have a large number of words in common, and a scheme of grammar the same substantially. Though brought to form and perfection, each completely apart, and in two literatures so independent as to be opposite in their main characters, yet they have followed the same course, assumed the same forms, and produced, in the same order, the corresponding mental monuments. Thus both the literatures begin alike with religious poets and theologians; that of the Hindoos, by the Vedas, that of the Greeks by the poems of Orpheus, of Musæus, of Linus. After follow the primitive epics, at first in fragments and detached lays, and compiled subsequently in extended compositions. Such are the Ramayana and Mahabharat in India, the Iliad and the Odyssey in Greece. A little later, the epic subjects, the heroic reminiscences, are treated in dramatic form and transferred upon the stage, an evolution that attained its acme, in the respective countries, in Sophocles and Kuladasa, King Oedipus and Sacontala.

We cannot let the author off without supplying a grave omission, alike historically and philosophically glaring. Between the epists and the dramatists there was a whole poetic epoch. In Greece, for instance, Alcaeus, Tyrtaeus, Simonides, Anacreon, Pindar, and, in short, all the great lyrists, were long anterior to the age of Sophocles and of the drama. And though unable to cite from memory, we dare affirm with the utmost confidence, that such was also the succession in Hindoo-stan. The strict necessity of the thing is demonstrable from the nature of the human mind, and of the three poetic forms, Epic, Lyric, and Dramatic; if it were requisite and proper to so incidental an occasion. But without history or philosophy, the present writer would be reprehensible for this omission of the intermediate division. He had written books on the lyric poetry of modern Greece and of his native Provence, where he found that the transition, more especially in Provençal poetry, was from the epic to the lyrical form; while neither country had attained a notion of the third and dramatic degree. Should not the merest empiricism have suggested him these "precedents?" Is it not melancholy to observe a man of vast learning and fine discernment unable, for the want of views, to use the rudiments of reasoning? For toward the herd of those who fumble likewise, but with no redeeming qualities, the only sentiment that one can feel is a contemptuous disgust.

At last, continues M. Fauriel, with the exhaustion or enervation of the two countries and of their tongues, comes the age of imitators and of commentators. Apollonius of Rhodes, Coluthus, and Triphiodorus have had also their analogues in India.

In the languages, as in the literatures, the serial fortunes are exactly similar. The two idioms, though now both dead, are studied beyond any living tongue, as the repositories of the two richest (!) of the literatures of mankind. The immediate cause of their extinction was a political catastrophe, connected in both cases with the conquests of Islamism. Each is substituted by a vulgar dialect which is derived from it, and coexisted with it; the Sanscrit by the Bengali, and the classic Greek by the Romaic. Now for the comparison of these two living dialects, at first in the vocabularies, after in the grammar.

The vocabulary in each is almost wholly from the mother language; the sole accession to the Bengali is a few Persian and Arabic words, to the Romaic as few Turkish and Albanian. Comparing both with the old idioms, they are found impoverished in the vocabularies; many classic words have been excluded, others altered in shape, sound, sense; not, however, so as not to leave the descent visible at a glance.

In point of grammar, the modern Greek retains the three genders of the ancient, but does not note them so distinctly, having dropped the neuter ending. The Bengali has done precisely, in both particulars, the same. The modern Greek retained the ancient article, and adds a second or indefinite *ἐνός*; exactly like the *un* of the French and other neo-Latin dialects. The case is somewhat otherwise in this instance in the Bengali; the Sanscrit having, like the Latin, had no distinctly developed article, it could not have been introduced into the popular dialect; but the latter has, like all the modern European dialects, supplied itself with the identical indefinite *one*, (*eka*.) Both the Sanscrit and the Greek had three numbers in nouns; their dialects have both rejected the dual number, like the Latin successors. They have also reduced the number of the ancient cases and declensions. The five cases of the classic Greek are passed to three or even two in the modern. The Bengali retains some seven of the eight cases of the Sanscrit. But this is only nominally; really there are but five, for of the eight terminations there are four that spell and sound identically. Furthermore, the use of the five really distinct cases prevails but in the literature and among the educated classes. The people have another system of declension, by detached particles; or, rather, not by particles analogous to prepositions, but (says our author) by substantives and adjectives. For example, in the instrumental, the ablative, and the locative cases, instead of particles like our *with*, *from*, *in*, the Bengali employs, by the *means* of, *proceeding* from, in the *place* of. But the author does not say how this new set of

prepositional adjuncts, with which our idioms are obliged to render the alleged expedient of the Bengali, has been provided for in this dialect, or if provided for at all. If not, it is quite manifest the difficulty is only shifted. A less equivocal advance is, that all its adjectives are indeclinable.

In conjugation, also, in which the fountain tongues were alike complex, the two derivatives are modified analogously. In both, the middle voice of the Greek and Sanscrit is rejected, and the passive is extended, more especially in the Bengali, where it is conjugated by the means of an auxiliary, as in the Latin dialects. Entire moods, such as the optative, have disappeared from both. Others have lost several tenses, and some tenses their dual number, precisely as was noted in the declensions. In both, also, all the verbals, gerunds, and supines, have been suppressed. The active voice, it is remarkable, retains in both the ancient forms in complete integrity, in the indicative mode. In the subjunctive, they are maintained but in the present tense and aorist; the other tenses are analyzed by the auxiliaries *will* and *have*, ($\thetaέλω$, $\varepsilonχω$.) The reason is, that the indicative regards the positive and the unchangeable; while the subjunctive is contingent, variable, more especially in the oblique tenses. In Bengali, the active voice is, says our author, less intact; for all the tenses of the indicative, except the present, *may* be decomposed. The elements are the auxiliary verb *to be*, with the past participle, just the same as in the neo-Latin dialects. It would appear that the analysis is even more minute. For instance, *I do* (which is the utmost extent of the latter idioms) is expressed, in Bengali, by *moui Karistéitchi*; that is to say, literally, *I doing am*, which is equaled in minuteness but by our English, *I am doing*. The inverse order of the collocation is right or wrong in both alike; for all the terms should be freely changeable to meet the exigence of different shadings. In a word, in the whole conjugative systems of the ancient tongues, the decomposition has been effected by conjunctions and by auxiliaries. "The auxiliaries adopted, always abstract and extremely general, are the verbs *TO BE*, *to become*, *to HAVE*, *to go*, *to WILL*." We will reiterate, without pretending to know a syllable of Bengali, that neither *going* nor *becoming* are employed by it as real auxiliaries. They are mistaken, through the vagueness and generality of their denotation, as was shown in the citation above presented from the Iliad. And if they should be so employed, it would be for the verb *to be*; just as *existence* is expressed, in savage idioms, by this verb *to go*, before the mind has got mature enough to conceive fully that abstract notion. But in a language that has reached this point, and thus employs the verb

to be as auxiliary, the prior form cannot coexist save as an archaism or a vulgarism. And by the way, we fear the author often mixes up these two matters, in ascribing all linguistic progress to the dialects of the people. But this consideration would be too extensive for our space, and we moreover are too good democrats to say a word about it.

This long series of exact concurrences between two independent languages, throughout these primitive and modern forms, and the intermediate transformations, cannot be other than the consequence of systematic and general laws. The same conclusion will be confirmed by a similar survey of the Latin.

This language in its general form had approached or remained nearer than even the Greek, to their supposed parent, the Sanscrit. Its direct origin in Italy is a question fraught with difficulty. M. Fauriel disputes with reason the explanation of Niebuhr, and prefers to sift the history of the Italic idioms generally. The principal of those anterior to the introduction of the Latin stock, were, besides the Greek, which was perhaps later, the Oscan, the Umbrian, the Sabine, the Etruscan, supposed a germ of the modern Tuscan; and toward the frontier, the Venetian, the Ligurian, and the Gaelic. All these have left their impress, in various measures, upon the Latin; but the particulars, although curious, are not essential to the argument.

One, however, must be noticed as both a novelty and a probable error. Our French author holds the Celtic and the Gaelic to be distinct languages; not merely one, as is the common doctrine, a simple dialect of the other. The opinion is supported mainly on the authority of Cæsar, in his designation of the Belge and the Celts as speaking different languages; the former people corresponding to the Gauls. But this loose geographical distribution of the Commentaries, by a man who could not judge himself between two unknown and barbarian idioms, should not be seriously alleged in a discussion of linguistics. Cæsar encountered the Celtic portion of the nation, who occupied the central regions of Gaul, and also, with the variety and rivalry so common among barbarians, had the pretension of being superior to and distinct from the northeast Gaels. Of course, they would exaggerate this difference to Cæsar, who must have naturally got his information from such sources. Strabo, a good deal later, and when the Gauls were better known at Rome, asserts, accordingly, that the whole race spoke substantially the same language. But M. Fauriel picks a flaw in the expression of the old geographer.

In fine, the Gaelic still subsists in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales,

and enough remains of the Celtic also to decide the question by direct comparison. But on this basis, we know of no writer to divide them radically, save our author. In fact, we note some cause to doubt his full acquaintance with the subject. He adduces, for another purpose, a list of vocables from each language, the portion given to the Celtic counting ten. But of these ten we can ourselves, with but small knowledge of the Gaelic, recognize no fewer than four that belong also to the latter idiom. The first of them is *vas*, a grave, which is synonymous, if not permutative, with *bhas*, which is, in Irish, the term for death. The second, *dorn*, the fist, is also familiar in the same idiom. The two remaining are *prim* and *fell*, which we can trace but indirectly, from their adoption into English in the exact sense of the original. But the English must have rather met them either in the ancient Gaelic of the island, or in the Welsh, or Scotch, or Irish, than in the Celtic of central Gaul. Now, of all this our learned author does not appear to have had a vision. We submit, then, if he be entitled to create a heresy on the subject.

But to return to the evolutions of the Latin language and of its literature. This language was the special idiom of the last conquerors of Latium, a tribe which history distinguishes by the appellation of Aborigines. They appear, in fact, to have descended into the plains from the adjacent mountains, several ages before the founding of the city. In this long interval, the shepherd idiom was, no doubt, extended by amalgamations, as well as regulated by some culture after the establishment of civil government. Yet it is singular that down so late as to the sixth century of the city, the Roman tongue remained unfixed in even its grammar and orthography.

As to its literature, known as such, it had its origin from Greek contact, and therefore toward the end of the Republic. Long previously, however, there was a sort of "native literature," and its petty products present the order traced above in the Greek and Sanscrit. In fact, the earliest, of course in verse, were hymns addressed to the rural deities. These "rural hymns" had even assigned them an institution of twelve priests, of which the policy was doubtless to subdue the shepherds to agriculture. They appear to have consisted but of a few lines, from a specimen discovered at Rome in 1778. This, inscribed upon a marble tablet, consists of only six lines, entirely disparate in measure, and uninterpretable to this day. An Oedipus would throw much light by it on the infant history of the Latin language. Another species of this primitive poetry were the funeral chants called *nenia*, a sort of laments not more extended nor more important than the hymns. But the destiny of Rome, as Virgil owned, was not to sing, but govern.

Passing to the syntax of the ancient Latin, we find our author express some wonder at a particular mode of composition. He cites, as an example, the expression *soloccasos*, that is to say, *occasus solis*, the setting of the sun. He finds an analogue in Sanscrit, in the term *suryastam*, i. e., *surya*, (sun,) and *astam*, (setting.) He finds this sort of composition also in the few fragments that remain of the primeval Italic idioms in general, and thinks that this must go to argue their affinity with the Latin. M. Fauriel can scarce have known our famous Anglo-Saxon idiom, or the word *sunset* would have presented him an obstacle to his induction.

But these verbal or grammatical investigations of the ancient Latin would not be of sufficient interest to our readers. The changes are, besides, the same precisely, in proportion, as those already exposed more fully in the Sanscrit and the Greek. Suffice it then to state the result in the terms of the author. "It is," says he, "that when the Latin had begun to be cultivated by the poets, that is to say, by artist writers, it had already been deeply modified it its primitive system, and that several of its grammatical forms, originally synthetic, had been decomposed into more analytic and more simple." P. 205. But these poets, or "*artist writers*," in the author's happy term, were but the consequence of the acquaintance, above alluded to, with Greek literature. This it was that brought a complete revolution in the Latin language, and gave it character and polish to pursue the conquest of Roman arms.

It was only, in fact, at this period that the Romans first bethought them of enforcing the adoption of their language throughout the empire. How far they had succeeded is a question going directly to the derivative formation of the neo-Latin dialects.

That the success was not complete is the opinion of M. Fauriel, and it has certainly the weight of reason, if not of documental evidence. With the indulgence allowed for centuries by Rome to all her conquests in the full retention of their religion, their usages and their language, and with the special pertinacity of the latter even against force, it is not possible that a vast empire, composed of hundreds of distinct nations, could be induced, in two or three centuries, to the adoption of the same language, and the oblivion of the native idioms, much more suited to their state of culture.

Our author, then, will have those idioms all, or most of them, to have survived. He places first a popular dialect beside the classic one in Rome itself; but, we think, principally on the warrant of analogy. It is not meant, however, that the ancient idioms survived in any such integrity, at least within the precincts of Italy. The system is that they died tardily, and that in this way the latest frag-

ments descended low enough to strike fresh root in the new dialects of the decline. It is admitted that the Gallo-Celtic of Cisalpine Gaul gave way quite early. The author is more doubtful respecting the Ligurian, which he considers as the primitive idiom of the peninsula, and even of entire Europe, and of which we have a living sample in the Basque of the Pyrenees. He even questions the strict accuracy of Varro's express testimony at the total disappearance of the Sabine in his time. And, in truth, the Sabine was perhaps the most vivacious of Italic idioms, as the race that owned it was the most vigorous among the vanquished populations. The Oscan still survived, at least at the destruction of Pompeii, as is attested by some relics from the ruins. The Etruscan, which had the aid of a religious liturgy to preserve it, remained, accordingly, in the day of Livy, the prevailing language of Etruria, and was still spoken there, (says Aulus Gellius,) in the second century of our era. It may be well presumed then to have lingered out much later. But the Greek language in Calabria and Sicily was last of all, having continued to be spoken there down to the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

When the extinction of the ancient idioms was so incomplete in Italy, beneath the ear and the immediate influence of the government and capital, it would be naturally still much less so toward the extremities of the empire. It is known, in fact, that through the entire East, where it came in conflict with the polished Greek, the Latin, though the governmental language, made no impression, not even on several others of the Oriental tongues. As Greece continued to speak Greek, so Egypt spoke Coptic, Syria Syriac, Palestine Hebrew, Galatia Gaelic. The only portion of the East of which the Latin took complete possession, was Illyria, Panonia, and the rude regions along the Danube.

For a similar reason, it had like success in the Western countries of the Empire. In Great Britain, the Latin was completely transplanted; it was also established firmly in Africa, Spain, and Gaul. But its fall with that of the Empire deprived it of the time to ripen, and thus enabled the local idioms to maintain the struggle with more effect. Accordingly, in even Africa, where it is known to have prevailed most thoroughly, it was resisted by the Carthaginian among the people, to a quite late date. In Spain, the fact of the survival of at least one and her most ancient language is placed beyond all question by the living relic of the Basque. As to Gaul, of the three languages into which Caesar had divided it, the Aquitain, the Celtic, and the Gaelic, it offers still a spoken remnant of the two former of these idioms, the Aquitain or Basque in Gascony, and the Celtic in

Brittany. The Greek also of the powerful city of Marseilles and its dependencies maintained its ground, not only there, but in a number of the Gallic cities, down to the fourth or fifth century of the modern era.

But no more did, on the other hand, the Latin expire suddenly, on the destruction of the government by the barbarians. It continued to be the language of the laws and the religion, and even of the higher classes of society who had used it theretofore. Its fall was gradual, and not by violence, but the corruption of growing ignorance. When thus degraded to the level of the popular remnants of the ancient idioms, the latter entered upon equal terms into the formation of the modern dialects. Such is, briefly, our author's theory of this much-disputed transformation.

He refutes, we think, the two rival hypotheses in vogue. The one and oldest represents both the destruction of the Latin and the formation of the modern dialects to be the work of the barbarians. M. Fauriel, who, as the author of a special history upon the subject, must be well informed of the moral influence of the German conquerors at least in Gaul, affirms positively that the poorest remnant of the pettiest idiom of ancient Europe has left more traces in the new formations, than the whole Teutonic dialects. This is clear indeed by the facts, and also natural, however singular. The only influence of these conquerors lay in their battle-ax and their brutality; barbarians may be obeyed, but never imitated, by the civilized. Perhaps, however, this response mistakes the precise point in issue. It could scarce have been pretended that the revolution was effected by a mixture of the German with the Latin; it was too palpable that no such mixture does exist in the new dialects. The meaning was, we think, that the corruption of the Latin was promoted by the attempts of the barbarians to speak and write it in their acts of government. But even this was an exaggerated and inadequate solution.

The other system as to the origin of the neo-Latin dialects is the more celebrated and quite recent one of M. Raynouard. This gentleman supposes the existence of a rustic tongue, cotemporaneous and coextensive with the classic Latin throughout the empire, and from which he would derive immediately the modern languages of Europe. But the proofs which he adduces of the mere existence of such a language, to say nothing of the derivation, are quite futile. Besides, the position itself is fundamentally unphilosophical; still more so than the preceding hypothesis. In the latter the extent of the transgression against philosophy was to ascribe a great social revolution to an accident. But the notion of a *universal popular*

idiom belongs effectually to the predicament of that of a *round square*. The essence of a popular idiom is, to be particular, local.

Our author proceeds next to sketch the neo-Latin dialects, successively in the vocabulary and the grammar. The main body of the vocables is drawn, by all of them, from the Latin, although there is some variation as to number and selection. Besides this principal stock of words, a close inquiry will detect some others, of a distinct origin and appertaining to the ancient idioms of the locality. This latter class occurs especially in large number in the Wallachian, which all our readers may not have known to be a sister dialect of the Italian, etc. Of the non-Latin vocables some are Turkish, others Slavonic; but beneath these upper and more modern layers, there is found a stratum of the strangest structure, and which offers not the least analogy with any other known vocabulary.

With respect to the grammatical construction of these dialects, it is in all substantially the same. Their elements of syntax, such as the pronouns, the articles, the verbals denoting abstract existence or its modifications, are also in all essentially the same. They have consequently all borrowed them from one and the same idiom; and as, consequently, this one idiom was the most refined, was then the Latin: for the syntax is the climax of grammatical development. But in thus borrowing from the Latin most of their substance and all their forms, they have all likewise diversely modified and sometimes altered the original.

If we neglect these minor shadings of diversity among the dialects, and take them at the maximum of their reciprocal divergence, the number of the principal may be reduced to seven, under which the rest may fall as mere subordinate degrees. These seven neo-Latin dialects are: the Provençal, the French, the Castilian, the Portuguese, the Catalonian, the Italian, and the Wallachian. This is not, certainly, the order of their proximity to the Latin source; and it would need a long discussion to arrange their series in that respect. It is not difficult, however, to assign the two extremes, which are, in nearness, the Italian, and, in divergence, the French.

We have not space to pursue the author through his critical survey of these seven dialects, to note the singular coincidence of their grammatical innovations. In all, the system of declension is very nearly the same, and the Latin endings have been substituted not alone by prepositions, but by precisely the self-same prepositions. The resemblance of those dialects in the main features of the conjugations is still more striking from the higher complexity and extension of this system. There are certain of the tenses that remain

agglutinated or inflexive, and are noted by inherent forms of the radical verb itself; there are also tenses formed by auxiliary verbs. Thus far the case is simple, and there is nothing to excite surprise. But what seems strange is, that in all the dialects it should be just the same tenses that are formed by the two methods respectively. Of all the moods, for instance, the indicate, imperative, and subjunctive, the present tenses, the imperfect, as well the positive as the conditional, and finally the relative perfect, are all uniformly inflexive. The complete perfect and all the other tenses of all three of the moods are decomposed and formed by the combination of an auxiliary with the passive participle of the principal verb. The author says:

"Here arises a succession of grave questions: how is it that the different peoples of Europe, formerly subject to the Romans, have come to coincide in all these various features of their grammar? Have they had before their eyes some common grammatical type, to which they each of them conformed, because it lay before them and was the most commodious for their purpose? This suspicion at first presents itself; but it is soon rejected. And, in fact, where could the peoples, who spoke or wished to speak the Roman dialects, have encountered this common type, this fixed measure of the mixture of synthesis and analysis which constitutes a main character of their idioms? This type could not have been the Latin, at least the grammatical Latin. No more could it be any of the original idioms which had preceded the introduction of the Latin into the provinces; for in whichever of these tongues it might have possibly existed, it would by no means form a rule for other provinces and other idioms.

"There remains, then, but one alternative to be adopted: it is, that in composing for themselves a system of conjugation, the Roman nations did but instinctively obey some natural necessity, some one of the compulsory laws which govern the intellect in the process of the formation of languages. But the question is thus but shifted; it still subsists entire. For it remains to be asked what was the metaphysical law of language, which the former subjects of Rome thus followed in utter unconsciousness, and in yet tallying with each other upon points apparently secondary of the complicated system of their conjugations. In what consisted the necessity to which they thus conformed by instinct, and without having any need of concert with each other, to the end of applying the Latin to their intelligence and their use?"—
Pp. 290, 291.

The author does not answer, but says he will at a future time. We do not know that he has ever made the attempt, as he has recently been lost, at a ripe age indeed, to philology. But if the attempt has been made, we do not hesitate to say that we should greatly be surprised at its success. We have shown, in fact, that M. Fauriel had not the elements of the solution. The service he has rendered, and a signal service it is assuredly, is to have stated the problem, shown the *necessity* of the law in question. This he has done fully in a comparison of the three languages the most enduring, the most extended, and the most cultivated of humanity.

These three idioms, to wit, the Sanscrit, the Greek, and the Latin, he has contrasted in their earliest known, if not their quite original, construction. He has shown that this construction, although formed independently, was in all three almost the same amid its multifarious complications. Then, again, when these complications began to drop away in each successively, the manner and the order were found equally analogous. Besides, they were alike accompanied by popular dialects, or stunted remnants of the primitive idioms of the country, and into which they partly dropped upon their fall from power and polish. Finally, their very fall had been occasioned by the same cause, the invasion, violent or pacific, of a new religion; as if some destiny would push the parallel into the very accidents of history. But history has no accidents; what we so call are but the fragments of a whole too ample for the paltry compass of our conception.

Again, the dialects which they left to substitute them, are not only products of like catastrophes, but are phenomena themselves identical in nature. The modern Greek, the Bengali, and the neo-Latin dialects were shown to be not mere derivatives from three languages of the same origin, but dialects which have followed in their derivation the same tendency, and have adopted in their renovation the same grammatical constitution. All this has been exhibited by M. Fauriel with fair ability, and with much learning, although less profundity than polish. Enough has been, however, done to press an answer to the question put by him: What are the laws that must have steered those vast yet regular phenomena? We have endeavored, for our humble part, to re-enforce, in this analysis, at once the argument and interrogatory by addition and arrangement. It seems time that the philologists should leave off burrowing in vocabularies, and ascend to see what they have been about for the past century.

ART. VI.—PHARMAKIDES AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE.

'Ο Συνοδικός Τόμος, ἡ Περὶ Ἀληθείας. By Professor Pharmakides, Athens.

THE ecclesiastical revolution by which that part of the Greek Church at present included in the Hellenic kingdom has, within our own day, shaken off the yoke of subjection to the patriarch of Constantinople, is one of the most significant occurrences of this eventful period. As an evidence of advancement, and a triumph of en-

lightened policy, we cannot but consider it worthy of attention; while its results may prove most important in their bearing upon the final success of the efforts now made for the evangelization of the East.

In the history of this branch of the Christian Church, we look in vain for any recent convulsion, similar to that which, in the sixteenth century, visited the western portion, and effected the separation of the purer elements from the mass in which they had hitherto been exerting merely a resistance to prevailing corruption. With less departure from the type of primitive Christianity than the Latin Church exhibits, we yet behold little tendency toward reformation. Not only have the same doctrines and practices prevailed for upward of a thousand years, through the entire body of the Greek Church, but even the form of external unity (if we leave out of the account the insignificant successes of Romish proselytism) has only been partially disturbed in two instances, and these in great measure rendered necessary by political revolutions. It is to the more recent of these that we shall confine ourselves, after a cursory view of the well-known circumstances that led to the present attitude of the Russian Church.

From the year 1072, when the Patriarch John Xiphinus sent George as metropolitan to the court of the Czar Isyaslaff, the Russian Church continued for several centuries to be governed by a succession of prelates of the same rank, who, according to the vicissitudes of the empire, resided at Kieff, Vladimir, or Moscow. The fall of Constantinople in 1453, and the entire subjugation of the Eastern Christians that either preceded or followed it, induced a new and anomalous condition in the Russian Church. The metropolitans of Moscow, for nearly a century and a half after that calamitous event, continued to be elected by a synod of native bishops; but their nominations were not confirmed by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, whose spiritual authority they still acknowledged. This "irregularity in that subordination of the hierarchy, which is so necessary to the unity of the Catholic Church," while it is lamented, is also palliated by the native ecclesiastical historians,* who urge, as a partial excuse, the acquiescence of the patriarchs, and the troubled condition of the East.

It was evident that the new posture of affairs demanded a corresponding change in the relations of the Church. A patriarch of reduced consideration, and subject to an anti-Christian ruler, was ill-qualified to govern the Church of Russia, a distant country of vast extent, and of daily growing importance. To the Czar Theodore

* Mouravieff, History of the Church of Russia, p. 126.

is generally attributed the first entertainment of a plan to elevate the Metropolitan of Moscow to the highest rank in the Eastern Church, as a fifth patriarch, to occupy the place of the Bishop of Rome, who was regarded as having fallen away. It happened in the year 1586, that Joachim, Patriarch of Jerusalem, visited the imperial city of Moscow: but when consulted in reference to the czar's favorite scheme, his reply was, that a matter of such vital importance could only be decided by an oecumenical council, or a synod at which the four oecumenical patriarchs should be present. But the Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah, who came in person in 1588, to beg assistance from the czar, either being of a more pliable disposition, or having previously consulted his colleagues of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, was less scrupulous; and, while he refused Theodore's offer to transfer his own residence to the old capital Vladimir, he consented to elevate the metropolitan Job to the Patriarchate of all the Russias. The pompous ceremonial of the Greek Church was taxed to its utmost extent in order to grace the consecration; and to enhance its solemnity, the entire service for Episcopal ordination was repeated over the candidate, already a bishop, but now to be invested with supreme dignity. By this means, it was imagined that "the double portion of grace requisite for the chief pastor of the church" was secured to the patriarch elect.* At the same time extraordinary precautions were taken by the Czar Theodore, lest the primate of Russia should in any way yield in point of rank to the consecrating prelate. Jeremiah and Job were seated on thrones of equal elevation in the Church; Job was instructed not to lay his crozier aside, unless Jeremiah did the same; and when, after the termination of a splendid pageant, the two patriarchs withdrew from the church, they issued from separate doors, lest either should be compelled to yield the precedence to the other.

The Russian Church, in this manner, became independent of the Greek Church of Constantinople; for the individual act of the oecumenical patriarch was ratified by the other patriarchs of the Eastern Church, (with the exception of the Patriarch of Alexandria, who had recently died,) and by a full synod of metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops. The primate of Russia was assigned the fifth place in the hierarchy, much against the wishes of the Czar Theodore, who desired for him the *third* rank, only yielding to the pretensions of the Patriarch of Alexandria in his quality of *Oecumenical Judge*.† There were not wanting those who maintained that

* Mouravieff, History of the Church of Russia, p. 129.

† The frivolous origin of this title is narrated at great length in a note to Mouravieff's History, pp. 390-391.

Jeremiah had been an unwilling instrument in the consecration, and that his return to Constantinople would have been impossible had he refused submission to the will of Theodore. Be this as it may, the unanimous consent of the Greek Church removed all objections to the validity of the consecration arising from this source, and ratified what might have been viewed as an unauthorized act on the part of Jeremiah.

For a century or more, the Russian Church continued to be governed by its patriarchs; but on the death of Adrian, the tenth dignitary, in the year 1700, Stephen Yavorsky was appointed guardian of the patriarchate, an office which he occupied twenty years. Peter the Great, who had ascended the imperial throne, and was now firmly seated upon it, became convinced by his success in the establishment of a senate, of the superior efficiency of a single executive body intrusted with political power. He determined to model the ecclesiastical government after the same pattern. Accordingly, in 1721, he created "the Most Holy Governing Synod" in place of the patriarch, inserting its name in those passages of the public litanies where his had been previously made the subject of prayer. This alteration of the established form of Church government was acquiesced in without a murmur by the devout of Russia, and was formally sanctioned, two years later, by the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the other heads of the Eastern Church. That prelate, who, by a singular coincidence, bore the name of Jeremiah, wrote in the following terms, respecting the Russian Synod, in a letter dated September 23, 1723:

"Our humility, by the grace and authority of the all-holy and life-giving Spirit, the sole author of governance, ratifies, confirms, and proclaims the Synod established in the great and holy kingdom of Russia, by the most pious and pacific autocrat, the holy king, etc., etc., the Lord, Lord Peter Alexævitch, emperor, beloved in the Holy Ghost, to be and to be styled 'our sister in Christ, the Holy and Sacred Synod,' by all pious and orthodox Christians, both clergy and laity, rulers and subjects, and by all official persons. And it has authority to do and perform all that is done and performed by the four apostolic and most holy patriarchal thrones. Moreover, we put it in remembrance, we exhort and enjoin upon it, to preserve and hold fast the customs and canons of the seven holy and Catholic Councils, and all other things which the Holy Eastern Church observes; and may it stand unshaken forever."*

Such being the independent position obtained by the Russian Church through the sagacious policy of the Czars Theodore and Peter the Great, we turn to Greece, which, at the commencement of the present century, acknowledged the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople, as it had done ever since the first enlargement of the powers of that see in the fourth century of the Christian era.

* Mouravieff, pp. 287-288. Pharmakides, pp. 143, 144, where the original Greek is given.

The outbreak of the Revolution in 1821 proved at once, to every reflecting mind, the necessity of some modification of the ecclesiastical relations of the new Hellenic state. Germanos, Archbishop of Patras, heading the inferior clergy, unfurled the standard of revolt in Peloponnesus. During the conflict, the Church of Greece was cut off from all communication with the Synod at Constantinople, which arrogated the title of the "Great Church of New Rome," and claimed the oversight of the whole body of orthodox Eastern Christians. But the cessation of intercourse was due not to the necessities of the times alone. The Archbishop of Constantinople had, for centuries before the fall of the empire, enjoyed extensive civil power, together with the ambitious appellation of Ecumenical Patriarch, and the first rank in the hierarchy. The Turkish sultans were unwilling to dispense with an office which, from the sanctity attaching to it in the eyes of the masses, might become a powerful engine in the government of the most important Christian communion. The patriarch, soon after the capture of Constantinople, was constituted the political head of the millions of Greeks under the Ottoman sway, and became responsible to the government for their good order and submission. From that moment until the present, the patriarchs have served as ready tools in the hands of their Mohammedan ruler, deriving their authority from him, and liable to be removed at his pleasure. As an indication of the entire subjection of the patriarchate to the infidel power, it may be mentioned, that to a document emanating from the "Great Church" in the year 1850, to which we shall have occasion to allude frequently in the course of this examination, there were appended, besides the signature of the acting patriarch, the names of five others who had formerly enjoyed that dignity for a longer or shorter period.

When the first tidings of the revolution reached Constantinople, the patriarchal throne was occupied by Gregory, a man, it is said, of a mild disposition and unaffected piety, and possessed of great abilities, which had more than once been exhibited in the service of the Turks. Being an ardent lover of his country, he was suspected, no doubt with good reason, of sympathy with the insurgents; and on Easter Day, 1821, at the conclusion of the most august religious service of the year, the white-haired old man of four score and ten was seized in his palace, to which he had just returned, and ignominiously hung from the lintel of his own door.* A man far in-

* A most graphic and faithful description of the tragic fate of the beloved patriarch, and of the subsequent atrocious massacre of Christians at Constantinople, is contained in *Tricoupe's* admirable History of the Greek Revolution,

ferior was appointed his successor. At the dictation of his master, the new patriarch issued proclamations to the inhabitants of Greece proper, as well as the islands of the Archipelago, summoning them, upon pain of the highest ecclesiastical censure, to return to their former allegiance. We have before us the decree of the "Great Church," dated May 1, 1821, pronouncing sentence of degradation upon the seven bishops of Patras, Kernitz, Euripus, Talanti, Samos, Nauplia, and Ægina, who had actively espoused the cause of their nation's liberty. They are declared "with Jewish unthankfulness and ingratitude to have lifted up their heel against our common benefactress, the potent government, and to have filled their provinces with disturbances and scandals." They are stigmatized as the most abandoned of men, unworthy not merely of the episcopal, but even of the Christian profession; and the faithful are warned to abstain from any recognition of their sacerdotal character, either by kissing their hands, or by officiating with them, "under pain of irrevocable interdict and unpardonable excommunication from Almighty God." The patriarch closes by pronouncing the most fearful curse that can well be imagined, upon all their followers that shall persist in the rebellion against the sultan.*

Nor did these denunciations cease even when the cause of Hellenic independence was well-nigh won. As late as the 20th of February,

now in course of publication. It may be found also among the valuable *Selections from Modern Greek Writers* by Professor C. C. Felton, pp. 33-47. This account differs essentially from that given by Col. Gordon and others.

* The entire decree is republished in the Athenian Ἐφημερὶς τοῦ Λαοῦ of May 17, 1821. We cannot better give an idea of its general character than by stating that the compiler gratified his petty malice by the incorporation of the epithet *bad* (*kakός*) with the proper name of each of the revolted towns; and by transcribing a few sentences from the imprecation with which it terminates. "Let their possessions and their goods go to destruction and complete ruin. In one generation let their name be blotted out with a noise, and let there not remain to them one stone upon another. Let them be cut off before their time from this life, and be damaged also in that which is to come. When they shall be judged, let them be condemned, and let their prayer become sin, and let Satan stand at their right hand. Let their wives become widows, and their children fatherless. Let their dwelling be laid waste, and let there be no inhabitant in their tents. Let the heavens over their heads be brass, and the earth iron under their feet. Let the Lord smite them with cold, fever, blight, and pallor. Let them be groaning and trembling upon the earth, like Cain. Let the earth cleave and swallow them up, like Dathan and Abiram. Let the angel of the Lord pursue them with a fiery sword, and let them never see prosperity. Let them, like Nebuchadnezzar, be turned into oxen. Let them have the curses of all the saints that have been from the beginning, and of the holy and inspired fathers of Nice and the other holy councils, if they perform not resolutely that which we have written."

(March 3d, N. S.,) 1828, the patriarch was put forward anew to try the weight of his authority, where the arms of the Turks had proved unsuccessful. A letter which he now addressed to the rulers, clergy, and laity of Peloponnesus and the islands of the Ægean Sea, opens with the assurance that he had lost none of his solicitude for the salvation of the Greeks, notwithstanding their previous indifference to his reproof and counsel. From the time when the sentence of excommunication had been issued, "the Church, that common mother," had been anxiously awaiting their return. Accordingly, no sooner did she detect a disposition to repent, among the inhabitants of the parts outside of Peloponnesus, than she received them into her maternal embrace, freed them from ecclesiastical censure, and obtained for them "repose beneath the shadow of the ever-green tree of the sultan's mercy and justice." Reminding the Greeks of the happiness and security they once enjoyed, the patriarch entreats them to put no confidence in the deceitful support of foreign powers, which have seduced them from "the allegiance due to the *lawful Ottoman Empire protected by God.*"

The ostensible object of this communication, however, was to assure the Greeks of the readiness of the Turkish government to pardon their past offenses and restore them to its favor. The patriarch, therefore, states that, in order to be better able to allay their fears, he had ventured into the royal presence, and presented an humble petition in behalf of his misguided countrymen. In reply he received from the sultan himself a document officially signed and sealed, which, after recapitulating the "*mild measures*" that he had continually employed during the war, to bring back the Peloponnesians to dutiful submission, offers full amnesty to all who should lay down their arms within three months. Their property, although rightfully forfeited to the state, shall be secured to them. No indemnity will be required for injuries inflicted upon the Turks, nor will the arrears of taxes due for six or seven years be demanded. They are, in a word, to be permitted to enjoy the same laws, institutions, and religious toleration as before the revolution. The patriarch concludes by once more reminding the Greeks that this is the time of grace and repentance, and warning them not to squander precious moments which they may afterward seek in vain to recover. "But if," he exclaims, "we should again meet, which God forbid! with stubbornness and disobedience, arising from the delusive notions that mislead you, *the ax is laid at the root of the tree. . . . See you to that.*"

If the menaces of the Great Church, as it proudly styled itself, had proved ineffectual at the commencement of the revolutionary

struggle, when the success of that movement was involved in doubt and gloomy forebodings, it is not astonishing that they were equally abortive when Hellenic independence had been firmly established by a war almost unparalleled in ferocity. The *people* of Western Europe had at length vindicated the sincerity of their professions of sympathy with bleeding Greece, and compelled their unwilling governments to interfere in behalf of a nation as brave now as in remote antiquity. During the previous summer, a treaty of pacification had been entered into between England, France, and Russia; and four months had elapsed since the entire annihilation of the Turco-Egyptian fleet in the land-locked bay of Navarino. Under such circumstances, it is almost superfluous to say that the efforts of the patriarch completely failed of accomplishing their end; but they served a useful purpose in augmenting the disgust already entertained by the Greeks for the ecclesiastics who could so prostitute their high calling as to become willing instruments in the attempt to renew the bondage of their brethren.

The ecclesiastical independence thus acquired in fact, was formally proclaimed by law, on the 23d of July, 1833, and a synod was constituted the highest authority in the Hellenic Church under the sovereignty of the king.* The principle there asserted became the fundamental law of the land in the Constitution of March 18, 1844, whose second article is as follows: "The Orthodox Church of Greece, acknowledging our Lord Jesus Christ as Head, is inseparably united in doctrine to the Great Church of Constantinople, and every other Church of Christ that holds the same faith; observing, precisely as they do, both the holy canons of the apostles and councils, and the holy traditions; yet it is independent, exercising its sovereign functions free from the control of every other Church, and governed by a holy synod of prelates." This synod was constituted by a law of the same year, to consist of five members, four of whom are bishops or archbishops, taken consecutively for the term of three years from the entire body of prelates. Two alternates are also chosen; but the president or moderator is selected by the king.†

No attempt seems to have been made, until the beginning of the year 1850, to renew the intercourse between the Church of Greece and that of Constantinople, which had been interrupted by the revolution. On the 16th of December of the previous year, Jacob Rizos, the Hellenic ambassador at the Sublime Porte, died at Constantinople, and his remains were accompanied with great pomp to their

* Pharmakides, p. 309.

† Pappadoukas, *Commentary on the Greek Constitution*, p. 140.

last resting-place. A remarkable feature in the funeral ceremony was the presence of the Patriarch Anthimus, by permission of the sultan. Such extraordinary condescension was deemed worthy of signal reward on the part of the Greek government. Accordingly, in February, 1850, the archimandrite, Misael Apostolides, was appointed by the king to carry to Anthimus the honorary cross of the Order of the Holy Saviour, with which it had been resolved to invest him. This was a rare opportunity for endeavoring to obtain from the first bishop of the Oriental Church a recognition of the independence of that of Greece; and forthwith the same royal messenger was provided with a letter from the Holy Synod of the Hellenic kingdom to the œcumene patriarch. By this cunning device, that party, which for nearly thirty years had been sadly troubled with the fears of schism, hoped to obtain such an indirect acknowledgment of their churchly position as would quiet their disturbed consciences. But Anthimus was too astute a politician to be entrapped by arts in which he himself knew no superior. Prevailed upon by the importunity of the ambassador, he was allowed by the sultan to accept the honorary decoration, the gift of King Otho; while he respectfully declined so much as to touch the missive of a synod whose erection he was accustomed to represent as uncanonical.*

Undaunted by the failure of its first attempt, the ministry of Londos was induced, by the representations of its agents at Constantinople, to hope for better success in a second. A draught of a letter from the ministry to the patriarch was forwarded to the Greek ambassador, and the special messenger, Misael Apostolides, by whom it was modified to meet with favor from the Great Church, and returned to Athens. There it was engrossed, signed, and again dispatched in a single night, accompanied by a letter from the Greek Synod. Respecting the latter, it is worthy of note, that the stated clerk of the synod, although at the time present in the capital, neither was summoned to the session nor signed this official document, being purposely neglected because of his well-known hostility to the entire scheme. The two letters were signed on the 30th of May, (O. S.,) 1850, and were received by the Greek ambassador, who hastened to announce the fact to the patriarch, on the 4th of June. The latter consequently convened "the Great Synod in the great council chamber of the patriarchate of the Great Church of Christ," on the sixteenth day of the same month; at which time the newly-arrived documents were read, and formed the subject of deliberation.

* Pharmakides, p. 13, etc.

What were the contents of these letters? What did the ministry seek to obtain from the patriarch and his associates? The inquiry is important, as it affects the question of ecclesiastical independence. After an introduction expressive of reverence for the patriarch as first pastor (*ποιητήρ χριστιανῶν*) and spiritual father of the Catholic Orthodox Church, the ministry advert to the establishment of the independence of the Hellenic Church, a step dictated by the political events of 1821. The need of a national synod, they proceed to remark, next made itself felt, and it was accordingly constituted by law, similar to that which exists in Russia, to watch over the interests of the Church. It is composed of five prelates, who, when inducted into office, swear to preserve the doctrinal unity of the Church. This legislation was also confirmed by the second article of the Constitution of 1844. Under these circumstances the ministry, in the name of the king, the clergy, and the laity, request the Great Church, "having approved this ecclesiastical legislation, and recognized the Holy Synod of the Hellenic kingdom erected in accordance with it, to receive it as a sister in Christ, blessing the work of the pious Greek nation, and to notify the other most blessed patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, of the same, that they may acknowledge and receive our Holy Synod as a sister of the same faith and to be held in equal honor." The letter of the Holy Synod was conceived in very similar terms, but at less length.

From the record of the proceedings of the "Great Church," which lies before us, we learn, that after an examination, in secret session, "of the grounds on which it was proper that the Orthodox Church of Greece should be honored with the privileges possessed by Independent Churches according to the canons," "it seemed good to the Great and Holy Synod to free the metropolitan, arch-episcopal, and episcopal sees at present forming the Hellenic realm, dependent until now upon the most holy oecumenical see of Constantinople, from such dependence in future, and to proclaim them an independent Church on certain most just and necessary conditions." A committee of three archbishops was appointed to draw up these conditions, which were reported, seven in number, to a subsequent meeting. They were approved, and the same committee was charged with the drafting of a Synodal *Tome*, or official decree, proclaiming the independence of the Hellenic Church, in which the same conditions were inserted. To the principal provisions of this highly interesting document we shall advert hereafter.

The precious missive, engrossed on parchment, was signed by all the members of the Great Church that were present; Anthimus, Patriarch of Constantinople, with five of his predecessors in that

office, Cyril, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and thirteen other prelates. It was received by the Greek envoys with the greatest demonstrations of veneration, and carried in triumph to Athens. It was made the subject of panegyric by clergy and laity alike. Some styled it "the holy tome," others, "the most holy" or "the most holy and worshipful tome." A considerable party, it is true, opposed its reception as degrading to the dignity, and subversive of the independence of the Hellenic Church; but a change of administration happening at this time, placed its advocates in power. Mr. Delianes, the new minister of foreign and ecclesiastical affairs, so firmly espoused its adoption, as even to violate the 25th article of the Constitution, which ordains that treaties of the nature of the Tome shall be of no force until they receive the concurrence of both branches of the national legislature. Assuming the previously existing law respecting the church to be annulled, a royal proclamation was issued conflicting with it, and carrying out many of the provisions of the Tome. The appointment of members of the Holy Synod was made in an illegal manner. A letter of thanks was written to the patriarch, and a solemn service was celebrated in one of the principal churches of Athens, expressive of gratitude to the Most High for his goodness to the kingdom of Greece. Nothing now remained to complete the success of the Tome, but its approval by the senate and house of representatives; and although every step thus far taken had been a gross violation of the fundamental law of the realm, it seemed not improbable that a large majority in both chambers could be secured in its favor.

It was at this juncture that a new and formidable opponent arose. Early in May, 1852, an anonymous volume appeared, entitled, "*The Synodical Tome; or, Concerning Truth.*" Upward of six hundred pages were here devoted to an analysis of the Tome, and to the discussion of the various topics it had started. In its masterly treatment of the subject was visible the hand of Theocletus Pharmakides, a man of liberal culture and ripe scholarship, and Professor of Theology in the University of Otho. Although he held the post of clerk to the holy synod, he had long been known to be hostile to the party advocating close union with Constantinople. Entertaining the views which he did of the hierarchy of the Eastern Church, he resolved not merely to act on the defensive, but to strike a blow at the corruptions which had gradually crept into the government of the church. He arraigns them at the bar of Scripture, reason, and ecclesiastical history. No longer can they take refuge in the prescriptive rights acquired during ages of ignorance and superstition. They must stand and be judged upon their own merits.

Whatever the hierarchy has gained by an alliance with the civil power, or usurped contrary to the clear dictates of the word of God, is exposed with fearless determination. Every one in Athens was amazed at the hardihood of the old professor who ventured, single-handed, to oppose, or rather attack, the interests of so powerful a class. Many confidently expected that a decree of excommunication would be hurled at the book and its author; and his friends, he tells us in the preface, had attempted to dissuade him from its publication. But he laughed at their fears. "The book, we answered, contains nothing deserving of excommunication and cursing. But if it be indeed excommunicated and cursed, its anathematizers themselves will repent of it; because, *first*, we shall show, from the holy canons, to all the body of the orthodox, who those are that excommunicate and anathematize; and, *secondly*, we shall explain what excommunication and the anathema are, upon whom they are inflicted, what are their results, etc., and this does not suit their interests, for these are their means of subsistence."*

Our limits will not permit us to examine in much detail this valuable production, whose claims to a careful perusal are not confined to its important influence in determining the present posture of the Hellenic Church. Professor Pharmakides maintains, in the first place, that the Tome was not what the Greek ministry and synod had sought. They asked a friendly acknowledgment of the independence which they had enjoyed for nearly thirty years, and of the validity of the rites that had been performed, and the enactments that had been framed. Far from granting such a recognition, the patriarch had impliedly denied their validity, and re-affirmed that, until the publication of the Tome, the Hellenic Church was still subject to his ecclesiastical authority. Presuming on these premises, he had proceeded, in virtue of the rights he claimed, to constitute this portion of his jurisdiction independent. Even this concession, however, was not absolute, but was made upon certain "most necessary conditions." These were principally the following:

1. The establishment of a perpetual synod consisting of bishops, succeeding one another according to seniority of ordination, to be the highest ecclesiastical authority, and to govern the affairs of the church, free from all secular interference.
2. The sending of the customary communication to the Patriarch by the President of the Synod when elevated to that station.
3. The insertion of prayers for the patriarch and the whole body of the orthodox in the public litanies.
4. The "holy anointing oil" used in baptism to be brought from Constantinople as often as required.
5. The framing

* Pharmakides, p. ix.

of regulations by the Synod of Greece respecting the number and choice of bishops, priests, and deacons, and respecting marriage, divorce, monasteries, the education of the clergy, the preaching of the word of God, and the censure of improper books. 6. The consultation of the patriarch and his council in all difficult matters where advice was needed.*

It was evident to the Athenian Professor that the turning point in this discussion was the claim of the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Synod over which he presided, to a superior rank and authority in the Christian Church. For if that claim were founded on an adequate basis, the Hellenic Church, in declaring itself independent, assumed a schismatical attitude, and nothing but his sanction could give validity to any of its acts. To the examination of this subject therefore, our author devotes a considerable portion of his work, from which we shall make a few extracts.

The Synodical Tome, in a preamble wherein the unity of the Christian Church is set forth, thus discourses respecting the origin of its officers: "The Holy Ghost which gave some, apostles; some, prophets; some, pastors and teachers; as by the imposition of hands of the holy apostles He hath appointed in the ministry of the faith, some, bishops; some, elders; and some, deacons: so the same Spirit, by the determination of the holy oecumenical councils, hath also in the dispensation of Unity established some, patriarchs; some, archbishops and metropolitans; some, arch-presbyters and arch-deacons," etc. "What, therefore," exclaims Professor Pharmakides, "all sensible men, of former ages and of this, all that are familiar with the ancient polity of the church and with ecclesiastical history, attribute to human vain-glory and ambition, this the senseless [compiler of the Tome] impiously ascribes to the Holy Ghost."†

Our author enters fearlessly into an extended examination of the constitution of the Christian Church, beginning at the time of its foundation. "The government introduced into the church by the holy apostles was democratic, and this is acknowledged by sacred history itself."‡ "No other form of government befitted the Church of Christ, founded on equality and fraternity. At that time there were neither metropolitans, nor archbishops, nor exarchs, nor patriarchs, nor popes. Each church, whether ministered to by a bishop and an elder or elders, or by an elder or elders alone, was then independent and governed by itself. The subjection of one church to another was unknown in the time of the apostles. None had any authority over another. But equality and brotherly kindness are displeasing to human vain-glory and ambition. Wherefore,

* Pharmakides, pp. 33, 34.

† *Ibid.*, p. 174.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

scarce had the apostles died, when these [vices] overturned the primitive form of government, and changed it into an aristocracy. This occurred probably at the commencement, or in the first half of the second century."*

In this revolution, Professor Pharmakides represents the bishops of the cities as the chief instruments. Besides the influence which the greater size of their spiritual flocks naturally gave to them, they were favored in their attempts to subject the neighboring inferior churches, by the councils or synods, which began to be convened between the years A. D. 160 and 170, first in Phrygia, and afterward in other provinces of the Roman Empire. As these bodies met in the principal city, the bishop of that church obtained without opposition the office of permanent president; and hence, in process of time, a certain superiority came to be accorded to him. The powers of the archbishop or metropolitan were not *derived*, says our author, from the canons of any council; but after they had been conceded by custom, they were *confirmed* by the councils. To prove this assertion, he cites the express words of the Council of Antioch, A. D. 341: "The bishop residing in the metropolis should know (or recognize) the bishop in each province, and assume the care of the entire province, because all that have business assemble from all quarters to the metropolis." "The reason, therefore," says Mr. Pharmakides, "for the creation of metropolitans was not divine, but human. Habit led the way, and the canon was subsequently framed."†

Yet even after this period, Professor Pharmakides proceeds to remark, while each metropolitan possessed a certain superiority over the other bishops of his province, he was himself independent of all other metropolitans. This is proved by a quotation from Balsamon, Patriarch of Antioch, one of the great authorities of the Greek Church on canon law; who in the 2d canon of the 2d Ecumenical Council observes, "that it will be seen from the present canon, that of old all the metropolitans were independent, and were consecrated by their own synods." The very name *metropolitan* was unknown during the first three centuries, and appears for the first time in the records of the Council of Nice, A. D. 325.‡

The Athenian professor traces the progress of the hierarchy, in the distinctions of rank that arose in the next place between the metropolitans. To this result, he tells us, various circumstances contributed. The Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, and Corinth, on account of the superior political importance of those cities, assumed authority over other metropolitans, and thus extended their own jurisdiction. "Again we say, and shall often have oc-

* Pharmakides, p. 177.

† *Ibid.*, 180.

‡ *Ibid.*, 183.

casion to repeat the remark, that vain glory and ambition know no bounds. This fraudulent appropriation of more extensive authority and jurisdiction occurred in accordance with usage. But usage is readily changed into law, when opportunity is afforded it. An opportunity *was* afforded, and this usage actually became a law." Taking the Archbishop of Alexandria as an instance, we find that he had, of his own accord, seized upon the ecclesiastical government of the whole of Egypt, and that all the churches were subject to him. When a single bishop ventured to question his right, and dared to ordain without his consent, the Council of Nice was called upon to settle the dispute between the two prelates. Its decision was given in these words: "Let the *ancient usages* prevail in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, so that the Bishop of Alexandria shall have authority over these; since this also is *customary* for the Bishop of Rome." Professor Pharmakides well observes, that "the prerogative of the Apostle Peter is not even taken into consideration in this canon. The precedence of the bishopric of Rome is due to the precedence of the city, and not to the fabulous precedence of Peter, who never was Bishop of Rome, or even of Antioch."^{*}

The changes introduced into church polity consequent upon the remodeling of the civil government of the empire by Constantine the Great, constitute the next topic of inquiry. The bishops of the capitals of provinces and exarchies assumed powers analogous to those of the governors, and even mimicked their titles; "acting," says Professor Pharmakides, "as though our Lord had said, 'Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority over them: so shall it also be among you.'"[†] The second General Council found these alterations already consummated; and, making a virtue of necessity, recognized their existence, only that it might set bounds to the ambition of those higher dignitaries, who were simultaneously seeking to aggrandize themselves by invading the provinces of their neighbors.

The growth of the power of the Bishop of Byzantium was singularly rapid, and this again is made the subject of special investigation. At first subject to the spiritual authority of the metropolitan of the Thracian city of Heraclea, when Constantinople succeeded imperial Rome as the seat of government, he became independent of his former superior; and not long after, the second General Council, by request of the Emperor Theodosius the Great, exalted him to a rank inferior only to that of the Bishop of Rome. But by this decree he obtained no jurisdiction. "What he did not obtain

^o Pharmakides, p. 185.

[†] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

at that time in a canonical manner, he afterward obtained uncanonically. And what is uncanonical is readily changed into canonical, when an opportunity is offered, and the violator of the canons is powerful."* During the seventy years that intervened between the Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon, the newly-elevated archbishop succeeded in securing a practical superiority over his neighbors; and, at the latter, it was no difficult thing to obtain an acknowledgment of his supremacy over the three provinces of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace.

The title of patriarch, which the author of the Synodical Tome ascribes to the Holy Ghost, manifesting his will through the holy oecumenical council, Professor Pharmakides demonstrates from ecclesiastical history to be of much later invention; citing the words of the distinguished historian and metropolitan of Athens, Meletius, who says of the titles of patriarchs, archbishops, etc., that "they were invented—as would they had not been—by the vain-glory and ambition of subsequent ages."[†]

"If, therefore," observes Professor Pharmakides in conclusion, "the oecumenical councils did not appoint patriarchs, archbishops, and metropolitans, how did they appoint arch-presbyters and archdeacons, according to the silly compiler of the Synodical Tome? Is not all this evidently empty babbling? How does he venture to attribute to the Holy Ghost what is the invention of man, the offspring of human vain-glory?" "If we too possessed the impiety of the compiler of the Synodical Tome, we would say that he also wrote under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. But far be from us such blasphemy! He that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness."

Having thus disposed of the arrogant pretensions of the see of Constantinople, in virtue of which it claimed the right to exercise authority over the universal church, Mr. Pharmakides proceeds to a minute examination of the circumstances attending the drafting of the Tome, of its own character, and of the condition it contains respecting the recognition of the independence of the Hellenic Church. The latter he condemns as destined, if acquiesced in, to establish an *imperium in imperio*. He justly ridicules the synod which, while it directs the government of the Church of Greece to be administered by a *perpetual* synod of prelates, permits this very decree to be signed by five *ex-patriarchs* of Constantinople. But when the Tome goes on to stipulate that this synod is to be supreme, and free from all secular interference, it is shown to array itself in direct opposition to the national law of July 23, 1833, which places

* Pharmakides, p. 191.

† *Ibid.*, p. 203.

it "under the sovereignty of the king;" and to the constant teachings of ecclesiastical history in reference to the practice of the church. Professor Pharmakides considers this point of so great importance, that he devotes over one hundred pages to the illustration of the immense influence which, from the days of the first Christian emperors, the civil government has exerted in the Church. Respecting the obligations imposed by the Tome upon the Synod of Greece, our author shows that they are unwarranted by the customs of the Church, and derogatory to the dignity of an independent body. For instance, the patriarch directs the Hellenic Synod to submit to his judgment all difficult cases in which counsel is required, but makes no mention of reciprocity on his own part. The holy anointing oil, which, according to the Tome, must be obtained from Constantinople, is proved to be destitute of a Biblical origin, though its use is now necessary in the Greek rite of baptism; but its composition has never by any canon been forbidden to the priesthood, much less to all except the patriarch.

We consider worthy of special attention the remarks of Professor Pharmakides on pages 570-577, in reference to the deplorable neglect of the preaching of the word of God in the Oriental Church. This duty he conceives as belonging exclusively to bishops, one of whose great qualifications, according to St. Paul, is aptness to teach; and to such presbyters and deacons as are authorized by them. And he states that while the Church of Constantinople has made no efforts to remedy the almost total neglect of this essential obligation, steps have been taken in that direction by that of Greece.*

The work of Professor Pharmakides was destined to prove the final blow to the Synodical Tome against which it was directed. The fruit of so much artifice and priestly craft was quietly dropped, and a law completely at variance with its provisions was introduced,

* We cannot forbear transcribing a few sentences from the indignant description of the Oriental hierarchy given by Professor Pharmakides in this connection. "But, unfortunately, the word of God is bound among these pastors! The tongue of these holy pastors cleaves, dry and immovable, to the roof of their mouths! Why? Is it because the spiritual authority is in captivity to the civil, as some wise dignitary foolishly asserts? But the word of God has never been bound by the secular power among the pastors either of Greece or of Turkey. The mouth of the teachers of the faith has, therefore, been stopped, and their tongue has cleaved, dry and immovable, to the roof of their mouths, not because the spiritual authority is in captivity to the civil, but because the teachers are wholly ignorant and unlearned. . . . The so-called bishops of the Eastern Church being of such extraction as this for the most part, having generally no education, and having as their sole occupation the amassing of gold to minister to their luxury, how can they preach the word of God according to their sacred obligations?"—Page 174.

and passed by both chambers of the legislature, with scarcely a dissentient voice. The entire kingdom was now to be divided into twenty-four dioceses, to be filled by one metropolitan, ten archbishops, and thirteen bishops. The Holy Synod retained its former constitution, and new bishops were to be chosen and consecrated as soon as practicable, the king, in each instance, selecting one of the three candidates presented by the Synod.*

By the rejection of the Tome, the ecclesiastical independence of the Hellenic kingdom has been established on a firm and, humanly speaking, immovable foundation. The yoke of the patriarch had, indeed, been shaken off nearly thirty years before, and the independence of the church formally proclaimed by the law of 1833, and re-affirmed in the constitution of 1844. But the emission of the Tome was designed to renew its subjection to a foreign court and an alien primate. In proportion as the attempt was adroit and insidious, the rebuff was signal. Where so many in the community were at first disposed to favor its acceptance, in the end it numbered a very few supporters.

The principal agent in the accomplishment of this result was, as we have seen, Theocletus Pharmakides. Having studied in his youth for several years in a Protestant University of Germany, under the influence of evangelical professors, he there imbibed more correct views than most of his countrymen possess, of the nature and government of the Christian Church. A profound study of ecclesiastical history has opened to him an exhaustless arsenal from which to draw weapons for demolishing the baseless fabric of superstition and priestly assumption. In their use he is free and almost reckless. His opponents are treated with an unsparing severity that is justly deserved, but not always necessary. Not a flaw in their arguments remains unnoticed, and so complete and thorough is his demonstration, that the candid reader rises from a careful perusal of his work fully persuaded of the impregnability of his more important positions; a persuasion which none of the numerous rejoinders by G. A. Mavrocordatos and others can shake.

At the same time, it should not be forgotten that Pharmakides is a reformer only in respect to some externals. While, from his education, we cannot doubt his personal conviction of the correctness of that system of truth which, in its essential features, is common to the whole Protestant Church, on doctrinal points he maintains an entire and significant silence. We are not aware that a single corruption of the Christian faith is unmasked, and when we watch the

* Εφ. τοῦ Λαοῦ, pp. 999, 1002.

masterly ability with which the growth of a lordly hierarchy from primitive equality is exhibited, we regret that the still more important doctrinal defections and loss of spiritual life are left untouched. The place of a Luther in the Christian Church can be filled only by one who, like him, has been led by the Divine Spirit from dependence on forms and works of righteousness, to a clear and vital apprehension of the doctrine of justification by faith. This, not learning or native talent, is the test of the reformer, as it has been said to be that of the church. May men trained in the school of Luther soon arise, to commence in Greece, by the blessing of God, a work similar to the Great Reformation of the sixteenth century in Western Europe!

ART. VII.—FINAL DESTRUCTION OF THE EARTH BY FIRE.

THE final destruction of our world by fire is a doctrine of revelation. Nothing can be more clear or definite, nothing more unequivocal, than the language used by St. Peter touching this subject: "But the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men. . . . But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up. Seeing, then, that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness, looking for and hastening unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat?" 2 Peter iii, 7-12. Although no clear statement is made of this doctrine in the Old Testament Scriptures, yet the Jews held it among their traditions. According to Josephus, it was revealed to Adam, who predicted that the world would be twice destroyed, once by water, and ultimately by the force of fire.—*Antiquities*, book I, chap. ii, sec. 3.

That such a revelation was made by Jehovah to some of the antediluvians, is probable from the tradition which prevailed quite generally among the ancient nations, among all the history of whose opinions have come down to us. It was believed and taught by the Greek philosophers, especially the Stoicks and Epicureans.

That it pervaded the Eastern philosophy may be inferred from the distorted traces of it which may still be found in the various forms of religion that have sprung up in the same lands, inheriting the opinions of antiquity.

Ovid, a distinguished Latin poet, who flourished about a quarter of a century before the Christian era, expressed, in his immortal verse, the tradition of the Roman Empire relating to this subject, which is thus translated by Dryden :

“Remembering in the fates a time when fire
Should to the battlements of heaven aspire ;
And all his blazing world above should burn,
And all the inferior globe to cinders turn.”

The scene of the above is laid far back in the past. Jupiter is about to destroy, with his lightnings, the existing race of men, on account of their great wickedness; but calling to mind this ancient prediction, he lays aside his wrathful thunderbolts, and determines to destroy them by a flood. Thus we see that among the heathen, both ancient and modern, in lands widely separated from each other, among nations not only ignorant of the Scriptures, but without intercourse with each other since the confusion of tongues, the opinion has prevailed in common with Christians, that the world is to be destroyed by fire. Admit that it was revealed from heaven to some of the patriarchs when “the whole earth was of one language and of one speech,” and the prevalence of this belief is easily and sufficiently accounted for. Deny it, and all is inexplicable mystery,

It may be gratifying to the Christian to recognize the existence of this tradition among pagan nations, and to trace it through devious windings back to the source whence it came—the source of all true revelation; but he has a more sure word of prophecy on which to found his belief of the final dissolution of all things. To him the declaration of an inspired apostle is “the word of God.” He is convinced by this most substantial of all arguments: “God hath said so, therefore it is true.” To an intelligent faith, this is moral demonstration, and secures an unwavering assent.

Yet there are those who reject, wholly or in part, the doctrine referred to, of the final and complete dissolution of our world. Such a superficial skepticism may be founded, partly upon a corrupt desire of the heart that it may not be so, and partly upon a false conception of the intellect that it is either impossible, or contrary to the nature of things. Such a skepticism exists, and is lurking around the outskirts of the Christian Church, and to some extent, we fear, within its pale. It affects, at least in some localities, a class of well-meaning young men, who would shudder at the idea of be-

coming, or of being called, *infidels*. It is for this class more especially that we submit this paper. Representatives of this class of persons existed even in the days of the apostles. Their descendants, the scoffers, will, doubtless, to the end of time, continue to come in the same spirit. In the preaching of that day, as now, the destruction of the world was associated with the second advent of Christ. Some unwisely fixed the time of his coming as near at hand, and when the appointed season had passed, the ancient skeptics tauntingly replied: "Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation."

The uniform stability of nature was to them a sufficient assurance that the present order of things would continue forever, that the solid foundations of earth could not be shaken, that its mighty masses of rock and sea could never be overcome by fire. For such a conclusion as this, there is, doubtless, some outward seeming. So stable and uniform is nature in all her movements and operations, that the skillful mathematician can tell the exact moment of an eclipse of the sun or moon; of the transit or occultation of a given star, which occurred six thousand years ago; and if the same state of things should continue so long, he can exactly calculate every similar event for ten thousand years to come.

Observing this uniform regularity and precision in the operation of nature, the young novitiate in science and philosophy is strangely prone to lose sight of God, and forget the power that first made and still moves the universe. Amazed and bewildered by what he contemplates, he mistakes *effects* for *cause*, and the uniform *law* of movement for the constantly *moving force*. How true the remark of Bacon, that prince of philosophers: "A little philosophy inclineth men's minds to atheism;" and no less true when he added: "But *depth* in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion."

We are of those who believe that science, truly so called, when rightly understood, nowhere presents any real obstacle to the fulfillment of any prophecy in the Scriptures, or contradicts any truth therein revealed. We believe that the testimony which nature and science are now giving, independent of the Scriptures, amounts to strong presumptive evidence that the world is approaching its final conflagration. To some points in this testimony we wish briefly to refer.

1. If this globe should be finally destroyed by fire, it is nothing more than we have reason to believe has already happened to other worlds which were once in sight of ours.

It is said that, "in the year 1572, Tycho Brahe, on passing from

his chemical laboratory to his observatory through the court of his house, observed in the constellation Cassiopeia, at a place where he had formerly seen but very small stars, a new star of uncommon magnitude. It was so bright that it surpassed Jupiter and even Venus in splendor, and was visible in the daytime. It seemed to be a world on fire; and for sixteen months it continued to blaze and shine, until at length it faded away and ceased to be visible." Never since that time, as the telescope, while exploring the heavens, has stopped to gaze upon that place, has any trace or remains of that star been discovered. Recent improvements in the science of optics have vastly augmented the power of the telescope to penetrate the azure depths of heaven. The distant nebulae, which La Place, and many modern astronomers, thought to be but gaseous clouds, floating in the depths of ether, and the materials out of which worlds were formed, the telescope has recently resolved into magnificent suns, the centers of new solar systems, so remote from us that their commingling rays of light made them appear to our optics like extensive beds of star dust. But when sought by all this augmented, far-reaching, space-penetrating power, no traces have been discovered of that *lost world*. Was that, think ye, the day of judgment to the inhabitants of some distant sphere, whose probation being ended, its heavens were wrapped in fire, and its elements were dissolved by fervent heat? It is stated that, within the last three centuries, thirteen fixed stars have, like that one, disappeared from the heavens. Blank desolation now reigns where once they swept through the mighty cycles, joining their harmony with the music of the spheres.

With these analogies from nature, who can say that a similar event may not overtake this planet, when being on fire it shall go flaming through the void, a beacon light of destiny to other spheres, and when, exploding like a rocket, it shall go out in darkness, adding another to the catalogue of extinct worlds? Analogy, tradition, and Scripture, say that it will be so. We should, therefore, "be looking for," as we are evidently "hasting unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat."

2. Such an event will appear still more probable, if we turn our attention to the geology of our globe. The probability that the interior of the earth is a molten mass of matter—a vast ocean of liquid fire—is now generally admitted by geologists and scientific men in both hemispheres. A great variety of experiments made in different parts of the earth, proves that heat increases as we descend from the surface toward the center. In delving for mines of coal, iron, salt, lead, and other ores, the earth's crust has been penetrated

to the depth of two or three thousand feet. Although the increase of heat is not uniform in all places where experiments have been made, yet its average rate is about one degree for every fifty feet in depth, as we descend on a line perpendicular to the surface. With this rate of increase, at the depth of seventy miles, there would be more than seven thousand degrees of heat. This would probably be sufficient to melt, and to keep in a liquid state, any material substance either known to the chemist or to be found in the mineral kingdom.

Geologists differ considerably in their opinions as to the probable thickness of the earth's crust, which separates us from the fiery sea within. Some think it is not more than thirty miles; others, fifty; a few much further than that. One has calculated that we are at least eight hundred miles from that seething caldron. The truth is doubtless somewhere between these extremes. But suppose the crust be eight hundred miles in thickness; we should then have a globe of fire within the earth more than six thousand miles in diameter. What an ocean that would be, six thousand miles long by six thousand wide, with a mean depth of three thousand miles. The probability would seem to be that the crust of the earth is less than one hundred miles in thickness. On either supposition, what a mass of fire is pent up beneath our feet! perhaps eating its way slowly toward the surface, rolling and tumbling in its fury and wearing away something from the lower strata at every revolution of the earth. Here surely are prepared material for a future conflagration. The testimony of geology already given, is sufficient at least to raise the presumption, that the train may now be laid, the match already lighted, and the slow fires creeping stealthily along like a thief in the night, toward the magazine of the world, for a final and terrific explosion. Why all these fires within? Who can say that they are not kept there by the Omnipotent hand, for the very purpose mentioned by St. Peter—the ultimate dissolution of our world?

But there are other natural phenomena which greatly strengthen, if they do not demonstrate, the truth of this theory of a vast interior ocean of fire. Volcanoes, or burning mountains, have been known in all ages of the world, and in nearly every section of the globe. From their open craters issue smoke, steam, and sulphurous gases, sometimes cinders, and flames, and torrents of red hot lava.

Three hundred of these volcanoes are known to have been in operation in modern times. These craters may serve as smoke-pipes and safety valves, to carry off steam from that vast boiler within, which otherwise might endanger the safety of our planet.

But for these numerous vents, for aught we know, the globe would be rent into fragments before its appointed time.

The amount of lava occasionally poured forth at a single eruption, is sufficient to prove that there is an immense supply of it somewhere beneath the surface.

"At an eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 1794, the flowing lava spread over five thousand acres of beautiful vineyards and cultivated fields. At another eruption of the same mountain, in A. D. 94, the cities Herculaneum and Pompeii were completely overwhelmed by the ashes, cinders, and red hot lava. The sun's light was totally obscured for two days throughout Naples. Great quantities of ashes and sulphurous smoke were carried not only to Rome, but even beyond the Mediterranean Sea into Africa, a distance of more than three hundred miles."—*World's Progress*, p. 580.

But the most tremendous volcanic eruption ever known to have taken place, occurred in Iceland, A. D. 1783. For a time it was feared that the whole island would be rent in pieces. Three fire spouts broke out of Mount Scapta Jocul, which, after rising high in the air, formed a torrent of burning lava, that flowed steadily for six weeks, and ran a distance of sixty miles to the sea, in a broken breadth of nearly twelve miles, and in some places sixty feet deep. Twelve river beds were completely filled and the rivers dried up. Twenty-one villages were wholly destroyed by water or fire, and thirty-four others greatly injured. We have not space to refer to others that have occurred. There are many of them on record. Enough already has been shown to prove, that there is an immense fountain of burning molten matter somewhere, which supplies material for these numerous eruptions. The fact that they occur in nearly all latitudes and longitudes of the earth, that they are continually in operation somewhere, seems to point, as with a finger of demonstration, from every quarter, toward a central sea of fire, pent up within the bowels of the earth.

In close connection with the foregoing are the phenomena of earthquakes. Like volcanoes, they have occurred in all ages, and their shocks have been felt in all parts of the world. At such times the earth is seized with a violent trembling, the surface rises and falls suddenly, as if lashed by the billows of an underlying tempest-tossed ocean. Occasionally these shocks are so great that houses are demolished by them; the walls of cities are thrown down; sometimes the earth opens, flames of fire and boiling water gush forth, while thousands of unfortunate victims are swallowed by the yawning cavern below. In Sicily, in 1693, fifty-four towns and cities, and three hundred villages were overturned by an earthquake, when the whole city of Catania, with its eighteen thousand inhabitants, entirely disappeared. In A. D. 742, an earthquake occurred which

shook Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor. Five hundred cities were destroyed, and the destruction of life surpassed all calculation.* Sometimes a whole continent feels the dreadful sensation, for thousands of miles around. The theory that now prevails among scientific men, and one consistent with the known facts in the case, is, that earthquakes are caused by the action of a liquid fiery ocean somewhere within the earth. An ingenious French philosopher, M. Alexis Perrey, Professor in the Faculty of Sciences at Dijon, has recently submitted to the French Academy a paper "On the Relations which may exist between the Frequency of Earthquakes and the Age of the Moon," and "On the Frequency of Earthquakes relative to the Times of the Moon's passing the Meridian." In this paper the learned professor would account for the phenomena of earthquakes, by the action of a *tide wave* on the internal ocean, produced by the joint influence of the sun and moon's attraction, acting upon and through the crust of the earth, similar to that produced by the same influences on the exterior ocean. It was very natural and easy for a philosophic mind to perceive, that if the center of the earth is in a pasty or liquid state, the same influences which cause the tides, must affect, though not so powerfully, the yielding mass within. We have neither time nor space to discuss the merits of this question here. We would simply add, that the theory already has the sanction of great names, and is now attracting the serious attention of scientific men on both sides of the Atlantic. Professor Perrey has made out tables of all the earthquakes which have occurred since 1801, and finds that the time and place of their occurrence closely corresponds with the position of the moon, and also that the greatness or lightness of their shocks have their explanations in harmony with his theory. He has been requested to extend his investigation, and make out tables of earthquakes which happened prior to 1801.

We do not claim in this paper that it is fully demonstrated, as yet, that the interior of our globe is a mass of liquid fire. We only claim that in the present stage of the argument, founded upon the facts and principles of science, the presumption and probabilities in that direction are very strong. Hence, we say, from the testimony of nature and science, it is quite evident that there can be no want of fire, and of fire in sufficient quantities to produce the predicted conflagration.

3. The probability of a complete dissolution of the earth is still more increased, when we take into the account the chemistry of the globe. According to the known principles of chemistry, is the

* See *Earthquakes, World's Progress.*

earth capable of such a dissolution by fire, as is set forth in the language of the apostle? From the experiments which have been made, it is now universally admitted by chemists, that any and all inorganic substances found upon the *surface* or *in* the earth, can, by heat, be reduced to a liquid state. Seven thousand degrees of heat are supposed to be sufficient to accomplish this, to *melt* any mineral substance. Recent experiments prove that the solid granite, and the quartz rock, by the application of heat, can be reduced to a liquid, as clear and transparent as the purest spring water. It is also universally admitted, if not fully proved, that when any substance has been reduced to a liquid state, it can be still further dissipated into *gases*. To reduce the whole to a single proposition we would say: by the application of a sufficient degree of heat, all inorganic mineral substances can be reduced, first to a liquid, and then to a gaseous state. All vegetable and animal substances readily fall a prey to fire, which consumes and dissipates them. Thus far science presents no obstacle to the complete dissolution of the solid portions of the earth. But how shall we dispose of the *water*, which covers about three fourths of the earth's surface? Besides this, large quantities are held in solution in the upper air in the form of mist, vapor, and clouds. Can this universal extinguisher of fire be made to burn? If not, we do not *see how* the declaration of the apostle can be accomplished, though we might still implicitly believe the inspired word. To this question the recent developments of science presents an easy solution. It has long been known that water is the composition of two elements or gases, oxygen and hydrogen; that water can be decomposed or separated into its original gases; and that when thus separated, hydrogen is highly combustible, and oxygen is the great supporter of combustion. Also oxygen may be burned in an atmosphere of hydrogen or sulphur, as well as sulphur and hydrogen in an atmosphere of oxygen.* In a word, oxygen and hydrogen are each combustible and mutually supporters of combustion. All that is wanting to wrap the earth in flames, is simply to separate the great bodies of water in the earth and air, into their component gases, and then to ignite them. No rational theist can doubt the power of God to produce in a moment such a change in the elements which compose the waters of the globe, if he saw fit to do so. None can doubt, that in the twinkling of an eye he could then set the heavens and earth in a blaze by his lightnings. These gases, when unconfined, are very expansive. Suppose the whole waters of the globe at once decomposed, the heavens on all sides filled to the top of the atmos-

* See Kane's Chemistry, pp. 178, 238.

sphere with the expanding oxygen and hydrogen, and a sheet of flame fifty miles high, kindled around this earth, would it not prepare the way for a sublime and awful conflagration? According to the testimony of science on this point, the waters, though so vast in extent, constitute no obstacle to the burning up of the world; but, on the other hand, are materials in waiting, evidently prepared for the occasion. Yet they are so in God's keeping that we need have no fear of man or even of Satan's applying the torch, to precipitate that day of fire upon us before the appointed time.

The chemist knows that water may be decomposed, under some circumstances, by the agency of electricity. It is also known that the earth is a great electrical battery, in which electricity may be elaborated and stored up in vast quantities. What part electricity now plays in the great economy of nature, and what part it will then play in the world's dissolution, of course must be left chiefly to conjecture. For aught we know, God may employ it as the agent for destroying the equilibrium of nature, for changing the organic laws of combination, for dissolving the mysterious union between hydrogen and oxygen, and for precipitating those inflammable gases at once upon the world. It is very evident from the Scriptures, that lightnings will be actively employed on that day of physical doom. The apostle says that "the heavens shall pass away with a great noise." We can readily conceive that it will be so. It would be difficult to conceive it otherwise. When the electricity which has long slumbered in the bosom of the earth shall, at the voice of God, dart forth in every direction through earth, sea, and air, have we not at hand materials for such a concert of thunders as never yet broke upon the human ear, nor shook the earth and heaven? When this shall take place, when the new-made flames without shall vie with the imprisoned fires within the earth, when God shall give the signal by his awful thunders, we may well imagine that the earthquake will lift up its mighty voices, while the whole globe is rending into fragments. It would seem that God has often given intimations of what the inhabitants of earth might expect and fear. The mighty throes within, that so frequently shake our globe, find relief and rest only by the terrible eruptions of volcanoes or immense openings of the surface. Suppose these vents should be suddenly closed, or the internal explosive gases should rapidly accumulate, how easily, if God so willed it, the crust of the earth, the solid globe itself, might be shivered into atoms. The deep-rooted mountains, torn from their rocky beds, may literally fulfill this line of the poet's,

"And mountains are on mountains hurl'd;"

when the everlasting foundations of granite are breaking up and melting amid the judgment fires. As mass after mass, fragment after fragment, mountain after mountain, shall fall back from the distant point to which it had been thrown by the exploding force, into the liquid ocean now bereft of its external covering, all will doubtless melt down and mingle together in one common mass.

4. A question may here be raised as to the extent of the destruction which awaits our globe. Some have thought that utter annihilation of the matter, as well as of the form, of the earth would take place, that all would return back into the original nihility from which God called it. Others have supposed that great fires would be kindled about the earth, that all combustible materials upon its surface would be consumed, that the soil to a few feet in depth would be burned up; but that the solid structure, the great mass of the world, would remain. That it would come out of the fires, like gold, purified, and be constituted the permanent home of the saints; that here Christ would take up his everlasting abode, and the heaven of Scripture, with its indescribable glory and bliss, would be located on this little planet. There are doubtless many who thus believe at the present day. This opinion seems to have been influenced very much by the imperfect ideas of science which have prevailed, rather than by the plain teachings of Scripture. It has been taken for granted that water was incombustible; that the metals, though melted, would remain; that the deep and extensive beds of igneous rock would not feel the touch of fire. As it regards the *first* opinion, the principles of science, so far as they are known, give no encouragement to the idea of the annihilation of a single particle of matter. On the other hand, the presumptions are all against it. We do not call in question the power of God to annihilate matter, if he were disposed to do it, any more than we question his power to annihilate souls or spirits. To the Divine mind, there may be the same reasons for annihilating the one as the other; and as the Scriptures guard us against believing in the annihilation of souls, even the souls of the wicked, so analogy and science would make us slow to admit the slightest probability of the annihilation of matter. The forms and combinations of matter are constantly changing before our eyes; and all the changes which inspiration calls for may take place, without involving the destruction of a single particle. "Heaven and earth *may* pass away," as the Saviour teaches us, and yet not a particle of matter be lost from the universe, any more than a principle of the Divine law shall fail.

The *latter* opinion may be as far from the truth in the other direction. If we carefully read the Scriptures, we shall find that

God says, "Behold, I create all things new." Therefore Peter says: "We, according to *his promise*, look for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness." Before the eye of the revelator, New Jerusalem, the city of the saints, comes "down from God out of heaven," "for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea." The apostle says: "The heavens shall *pass away*," "and the *elements* shall *melt* with fervent heat." The language of Scripture calls for much more than external burning, which leaves the great mass of earth in the same relative position in the universe, unaffected by the fire. It seems, at least, to call for a complete melting down, if not an entire dissolution of its elements; for a passing away from its place, if not a complete dispersion of its original gases. In the phrase "the elements shall melt with fervent heat," we understand the term *elements*, *στοιχεῖα*, to be used by the apostle in its true philosophical sense, meaning the first and simplest principles of matter, the primordial elements out of which all material things were originally formed. It was in this sense that the Greek philosophers used it, and chiefly in reference to the component elements of the earth. The modern chemist would make a similar use of the term, only he would make it comprehend sixty-four elements instead of the four which constituted the whole chemistry of the ancients. How many, or rather how *few*, simple elements enter into the composition of our earth and atmosphere, is yet an open question. Modern chemistry has reduced them to sixty-four. But the prevailing conviction among chemists is, that what have been regarded as simple elementary substances, may be themselves but compounds of elements still more simple. The probability is, that as the science becomes better known, and new experiments are tried, the number of elements will be proved to be much smaller than has been supposed. Man may be able to push his conquests till nearly all which are now called simples, may be known as compounds. And yet, for wise reasons, God may never permit him to enter into the inner temple of nature, to behold the utmost simplicity of his works. It may be among the lessons to be learned in eternity, to know with how few elementary principles God has produced this immense, endless, and almost infinite variety which he has spread before us. What chemist, with all his experiments and learning, can modestly affirm that the sixty-four elements, now talked of in laboratories and lecture-rooms, may not be reduced to a very few, perhaps even to three, and a trinity be found in material nature, as well as in the Godhead?

These are as yet mysteries, of which we may *think* with much *

more propriety than we can *affirm* or *deny*. Whether few or many, the apostle affirms that "the elements shall melt with fervent heat." The verb here rendered *melt*, is *λυθῆσονται*, future passive from *λύω*, or *λύειν*, the radical signification of which is, *to loose, release, set free, or dissolve*. The elements combine according to certain organic laws, and are held together in composition by the invisible and inexplicable bands of elective affinity. Overcome this organic, cohesive force, and the elements fall apart and resume their separate, original identity. The original word here rendered *melt*, and in the following verse, *dissolved*, aptly expresses the idea of this cohesive power being overcome, which being overcome, dissolves the elements, detaches them from each other, and leaves them free to follow another law, and even to escape. No word can be found in the Greek language which could express more happily, or more scientifically, this idea, than the one here selected and used by inspiration. May not, then, the destruction which awaits our earth be complete? May not the bands of material fellowship be so dissolved, that the primordial elements, be they few or many, which now compose the globe, will separate into their simple and original gases, and these literally pass away? Man sins, and the contamination so penetrates and permeates his physical constitution, that the wisdom of heaven decrees, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." The noble structure of his body must be taken down, and taken to pieces, particle by particle, and dust must mingle again with its mother dust, and then God will raise it from the dead before its purification is complete for heaven. Has the earth been contaminated as the polluted dust returned to its bosom, as it has drunk up the blood of murdered *billions*, and also the blood consecrated to idols? and does it not need a similar process of purification? Must not the elements be completely separated, and, if need be, re-organized and re-constructed, before heaven can consecrate them as the home of the saints? Let us carefully observe, that the dissolution spoken of is produced by the agency of heat. "The elements shall melt," or be *dissolved*, by "*fervent heat*." We have already seen that chemistry teaches, that all inorganic substances can, by the application of sufficient heat, be reduced not only to a liquid, but also to a gaseous state. It is quite clear that this view of the subject, this interpretation of Scripture, does not call for anything more than chemistry teaches us can be done, and that, too, by the very agent, *heat*, that is mentioned by the apostle. Is there not assigned an adequate cause for this? Who can calculate the degree of heat to which the mass of the earth will be subjected on that day, when the heavens shall be on fire? Who can tell what that heat may not be

able to accomplish? We do not think that the internal fires of the earth could accomplish this alone. But another force incalculably great is to be brought to bear upon it from the burning heavens. We suppose that this burning may be supplied principally, if not wholly, from the decomposition of the vapors in the air, of the waters upon the surface, and from the gases that may be set free by the action of the internal fires. How long the heavens will be on fire, how intense the heat will be, and what the full effects of that heat will be upon the solid or liquid earth, are just the things that man cannot calculate. Consequently no man can intelligently affirm that the destruction will not be complete, that it will not amount to perfect decomposition of the elements, and the dissipation and passing away of all that once was earth. Nor should we affirm positively that it will be so. The question is simply, what do the facts and principles of science in their present state of development warrant, taken in connection with the fair interpretation of the language of Scripture relating to this subject? Whatever the apostle affirms must be *true*, when interpreted as the Holy Spirit intended. With this, science must not attempt to interfere. When properly understood, we believe it does not, and will not, conflict with revelation. Science, in some instances, may help to correct false interpretations of Scripture, which man, under the influence of prejudice, in his ignorance and haste, has given to the holy oracles.

If the new heavens and the new earth, mentioned in Scripture, are to be understood in a literal sense, and, as some think, referring to what this earth will be after the last fire, we do not think that any patching up of the old world, or burning it down, and making it smaller, will quite answer the conditions described. It does not seem to be in accordance with God's usual magnificent scale of procedure. True, it is economical; but that is a great objection to it. It savors more of *human* than of *Divine* economy, to give the glorified saints a smaller home and a more limited sphere of action, than they had while living in sin. In some respects it would seem to have this appearance, if the solid mass of the earth, after such a burning, is to be assigned to them as their eternal abode. True, God could amplify it, and beautify it, and make it a perfect paradise. But would it not be more consistent, and more like what we know of God, more in accordance with his determined course in reference to the human body, to collect together the dissipated elements of the old world, after undergoing the process of purification by fire, reorganize and reconstruct them into a new and beautiful world, made and fitted up expressly for the saints? Can any one doubt the power of God to do this? And would not such a re-creation

more fully answer the figures and the declaration of Scripture, than the one before referred to? That new heaven and new earth may be such as literally to justify the magnificent and poetical descriptions given them by the revelator. May there not be in that world a capital city, New Jerusalem, on which may be lavished all the magnificence and splendor described in the twenty-first chapter of Revelation? Could not the Almighty produce, out of the elements of this earth, the very metals, precious stones, and pearls, which are represented as adorning the walls, gates, and streets of the New Jerusalem? We do not think that God is dependent for materials upon the old world. He has infinite resources at his command. He might dissolve Jupiter or Saturn, Uranus or Neptune, for materials out of which to form the new heavens and new earth; or he might create materials anew, or call them out of nonentity, if he saw fit to do so. But it may be pleasing to the Divine mind to have the future abode of the saints, or the New Jerusalem, bear a relation to the present world similar to that which the resurrection body will bear to our present body. Of course where the Scriptures are silent, we must not affirm; we can only conjecture. But if the saints are to have this earth at all for a residence, which the Scriptures do not affirm, we believe it will undergo as great a change as their bodies will, and be as well adapted to their new estate, as their resurrection bodies will be to their glorified spirits.

ART. VIII.—LIFE AND TIMES OF WILLIAM III. OF ENGLAND.

PERHAPS the British Channel never exhibited a more magnificent spectacle than on the third day of November, 1688. A fleet of six hundred sail, including men-of-war and transports, with canvas freely spread to the gale, were seen sweeping westward round the southern headlands of England. So extended was this grand armament, that in passing the Straits of Dover, it reached within a league of the shore on either side. The multitude of gazers that swarmed along the beach of Picardy on one hand, or darkened the chalky cliffs of Kent on the other, saw distinctly the troops under arms on the decks, and heard the mingled sounds of trumpet, drum, and cymbal, that floated in jubilant concord on the breeze. From the war ships on the two wings of the fleet, salutes were fired simultaneously as they passed the fortresses of Calais and Dover. On board

the gallant Brill, which led the van, was the individual who was the author and soul of the expedition. He sought a landing in England. His motives were sufficiently indicated by the flag at his topmast, which bore upon its ample folds this motto: "I will maintain the liberties of England and the Protestant religion." This individual was William, Prince of Orange. And the device on his pendant that hour, furnishes no unfair index of the man, and prompts to further inquiry as to his character and objects of life.

William Henry, Prince of Orange, Nassau, was partly of English and partly of Dutch descent. The grandson of Charles I., on his mother's side, he was son of the Prince of Orange, whose titles and estates he inherited. Elected Stadholder of the United Provinces at twenty-two years of age, he had become distinguished as a statesman and warrior at twenty-five; and in his twenty-eighth year, connected himself more nearly with the British nation, by his marriage with Mary, daughter of James II. In 1688, when William had reached his thirty-eighth year, the exceeding tyranny and stupid perverseness of his father-in-law, then the reigning monarch of England, alienated the people from his person and government, and led them to invite William and Mary to the throne. They were crowned King and Queen of England the following year.

After expelling James and his French allies from Ireland by force of arms; after successfully resisting upon the Continent, at the head of the Protestant coalition, the powerful assaults of France and the artful encroachments of Romanism for many years; and after he had seen the kingdom of Great Britain liberated from despotism, fortified against popery, and enjoying social peace, commercial prosperity, and national dignity among the European powers, to a degree unknown to her before, William III. died in his fifty-third year; the warrior of twenty battles, the guiding mind in a great revolution, and, on the whole, in war, in statesmanship, in diplomacy, and in weight of political influence, the greatest man of his times.

There were marked traits of excellence in William's character. He was decidedly religious. A sincere, enlightened Protestant, of the Calvinistic school, he maintained, aside from some youthful improprieties, a firm, abiding, practical faith in God. In our introduction we glanced at him on his voyage to England. On landing his army in that kingdom, whither he had come by invitation, to effect a most important revolution, the last regiment was no sooner disembarked, than the whole army was brought to a halt, and by command of the Prince of Orange, public thanks were reverently offered up to God for the gracious providence which had thus far attended the enterprise. In writing to his confidant, just previous

to the fall of the fortress of Mons, where, with fifty thousand men, he was about to measure swords with the King of France at the head of a hundred thousand, he remarks: "The risk is great, yet I am not without hope. I will do what can be done. The issue is in the hands of God." Religion is the great regulator of human character. This had a conspicuous illustration in the case of William III. His character was exceedingly well poised. And his lion-like courage in battle, his unbroken fortitude in cases of defeat, and in reverses of fortune, his decision, his impartiality, his great and noble intentions, his tenderness of heart, deep hidden though it might be under a stern exterior, and that moderation in government which would not in any case permit him to be cruel, nor allow of persecution and violence in one portion of his subjects against another, are striking proof of the healthful influence of Christianity upon the human mind.

There were vicissitudes in his ever active, ever changing life which developed all these characteristics. In those hours of peril when others quail, he was the most animated and self-possessed. Thus, at the battle of the Boyne, where the papal power was effectually broken in the British empire, when his right arm had been wounded by a cannon ball aimed at him personally, he was seen soon afterward, in the van of his embattled hosts, fording the river in the face of the enemy, in high spirits, holding the sword with his left hand, and managing the bridle with a bandaged arm. And again, at the hard-fought and disastrous battle of Landen, which had lasted from sunrise till four o'clock in the afternoon, when his troops, after repulsing the French in four bloody and successful engagements, were at length put to rout by superior numbers, William, with a few veteran regiments, threw himself between his flying battalions and the enemy, and rushed sword in hand upon his flushed and wondering conquerors. And when he saw some signs of shrinking among his own ranks, he exclaimed: "That is not the way to fight, gentlemen! You must stand up close to them; thus, gentlemen, thus!" By such cool intrepidity the enemy's progress was arrested, and the forces of the king brought off without further detriment.

We named also the unbroken energy of this prince in times of adversity. This was exemplified after the present defeat. With some men, a single misfortune casts the gloom of despair over a whole enterprise. They are unmanned. They look upon all as lost; and not unfrequently all *is* lost for that reason. Not so with William of Orange. It required just such a conjuncture as we have described to bring out all his greatness. He had in this instance

suffered a terrible overthrow. And had Luxemburg, the opposing commander, improved the advantages of victory, William would have been undone, and the cause of the coalition ruined. But while Luxemburg paused to take breath, the elastic William, buoyed up by broad views of providence, and by high motives of duty, was on the alert. Instant and indefatigable in collecting his scattered forces, in a few days he presented as bold a front to the enemy as ever, and Protestant Europe was again safe.

The firmness of King William in adhering to positions which his judgment approved, was often and thoroughly tested in the relations he sustained to the British Parliament. After the compulsory abdication of James, and his flight to France, it became a grave question with the Lords and Commons, who had called the Prince of Orange to their assistance, and to assume the government, whether it should be in the form of a regency, or if William and Mary were crowned, whether the former or latter should administer the government. When the parleying had continued for a considerable time, William invited some three' or four of the chief personages of the realm to a conference. Here he stated to them distinctly that he could not act as regent; and that, though his affection for the Lady Mary was true and devoted, yet such was his constitution that "he could not consent to be tied to the apron strings of even the best of wives." If the nation were disposed to bestow upon him the crown for life, he would accept of it; if not, his duty to Holland would require him to return to that country.

Previous to the accession of William and Mary, a spirit of violence and persecution had prevailed between the different parties in the state, the barbarous relic of those bloody times when the alternate ascendancy of Papal and Protestant rule had filled the kingdom with corresponding alternations of outrage and retaliation. In the preceding reign the Tories had wielded the rods and the ax without mercy against the Whigs; and now that the latter were in power, they thought it a fit opportunity to take vengeance upon their oppressors. But though William was a stanch Whig, he would listen to none of their violent counsels. And when they attempted to coerce him into their vindictive measures, he put a quietus upon the whole matter by proroguing the Parliament. On three or more occasions he vetoed bills of the Legislature when he saw that the design or tendency of such bills was to restrict the just prerogatives of the crown. His veto of the "Place Bill," which aimed to exclude from Parliament all persons occupying places of honor and power in the government, raised a great storm in both houses. The winds and waves of angry feeling raged about the throne for two days with

great violence; but finding its occupant immovable, the Parliament yielded the point with tolerable grace; chafed, indeed, at their disappointment, but appreciating in their sovereign that decision, without which no man was able to wield the government.

The conduct and strength of William as a leader among the nations is thus eloquently expressed in one of Macaulay's paragraphs:

"The French statesmen judged of William's faculties from an intimate knowledge of the way in which he had, during twenty years, conducted affairs of the greatest moment, and of the greatest difficulty. He had even, in 1663, been playing against themselves a mixed game of most complicated chance and skill for an immense stake. They were proud, and with reason, of their own dexterity at the game, yet they were conscious that in him they had found more than their match. At the commencement of the long contest every advantage had been on their side. They had at their absolute control all the resources of the greatest kingdom in Europe, and he was merely the servant of a commonwealth, of which the whole territory was inferior in extent to Normandy or Guienne. A succession of generals and diplomats of eminent ability had been opposed to him. A powerful faction in his native country had pertinaciously crossed his designs. He had undergone defeats in the field, and defeats in the Senate, but his wisdom and firmness had turned defeats into victories. Notwithstanding all that could be done to keep him down, his influence and fame had been constantly rising and spreading. The most important and arduous enterprise in the history of modern Europe had been planned and conducted to a prosperous issue, by him alone. The most extensive coalition the world had seen for ages, had been formed by him, and would be instantly dissolved if his superintending care were withdrawn. He had gained two kingdoms by state craft, and a third by conquest, and he was still maintaining himself in possession of all three, in spite of both foreign and domestic foes."

One would hardly suppose that in a mind so disciplined to self-restraint and diplomatic reserve, and under an exterior so inflexible and soldier-like, there lay hid a delicate sensibility, a tender heart. Yet what was ever expressed more touchingly than William's reply to the English lords at the Hague, when they listened with proud surprise to the hearty shouts of the Hollanders on the arrival of their beloved Stadholder, who, after an absence of two years, had now come back among them the king of three kingdoms? The lords congratulated him on his popularity. "O yes," said he, "but I am not the favorite. The shouting was nothing to what it would have been if Mary had been with me!" The warm sensibilities of his kind nature were drawn out on the same occasion in a different way. While he moved along in stately procession from the dike to the town, the masses of his humbler fellow-countrymen lined the road for the entire distance; and as they pressed toward him to catch a glimpse of his well-remembered face, William exclaimed to the officers who repelled them, fearing possible assassination, "Do not keep the people off; let them come close to me; they are all my good friends!"

When Archbishop Tillotson died, William said with visible emotion, "I have lost the best friend I ever had, and the best man I ever knew." In the last sickness of Queen Mary, the king remained night and day near her bedside. The sight of his sorrow was enough to move every heart. "There was nothing left," says Macaulay, "of the man whose serene fortitude had been the wonder of old soldiers on the disastrous day of Landen, and of old sailors on the fearful night among the sheets of ice and banks of sand on the coast of Goree. The very domestics saw the tears running unheeded down that face of which the stern composure had seldom been disturbed by any triumph, or by any defeat." There were several of the prelates in attendance. The king drew Burnet aside, and gave way to an agony of grief. "There is no hope," he cried. "I was the happiest man on earth, but now I am the most miserable. She had no fault—none; you knew her well; but you could not know, nobody but myself could know her goodness."

William III. was made the providential conservator of liberty. Up to the time of James II.'s expulsion, and the elevation of William and Mary to the throne, the opinion implied in *Dei gratia Rex*, that it is the divine right of kings to rule the nations of the earth, was the prevalent opinion of Englishmen. The Church taught them, and they believed, that hereditary monarchy was of God, and inviolable. That while the right of the House of Commons to a voice in legislation was merely human, the right of the king to the obedience of his people was divine. That the Great Charter, the Constitution, was a statute which might be repealed by those who enacted it; but that the right of the princes of the blood royal to sit upon the throne of the nation in the order of succession was from God; and any act of Parliament inconsistent with that regulation was a nullity, a breach of the higher law, a sin against Heaven. That if the king dealt justly and mercifully with his subjects, very well; but if he oppressed them and tyrannized over them, they must submit to it as a providential calamity. There was no redress. He must answer for his fault to God, and not to the people. Now it is plain that in a nation where this high-toned Toryism prevailed, there could be no safeguard to freedom. A king who felt that his prerogatives were derived directly from God, would not be scrupulous about trenching upon the rights of a legislature whose authority was only from men. And such was the actual state of things. "For four reigns one half of the energy of England had been occupied in counteracting the other half." Whereas, in a good government, the ruler is employed in taking care of the nation, under the Stuarts the nation were employed in taking care of their king; and they

often had more than their hands full at that. They could not endure his abuses, for that was beyond the power of human nature. And they dared not dethrone him, for this were rebellion against God. Hence they were occupied in various expedients to manage him, and to mitigate the evil of his doings. They presented very much the appearance of a well-disposed but afflicted family, one of whose members is a maniac; and all the rest of the family are patiently engaged in trying to keep him within bounds. The English had, indeed, in one instance, when driven to desperation by the recklessness of Charles I., risen by a sudden impulse and beheaded the tyrant; but in a little time they were thunderstruck at what they had done, and humbly begged the son to come and repeat upon them the tyranny of the father. And down to the time of which we are now speaking, they looked upon themselves as a guilty nation of regicides. A Whig party had, however, risen up in the interim, with principles more enlightened and more favorable to freedom. James II. was the most despotic and the most stupid of all the Stuarts. His despotism drew upon him the hatred of all classes of his subjects; and his stupidity made it easy for a bold, energetic opposition to exclude him from the kingdom. On the other hand, the Prince of Orange, nurtured under the influence of the Reformed religion, which is friendly to liberty, and being practically familiar with the workings of a constitutional government from the relation which he held to the United Provinces, was admirably adapted to guide a revolution, destined to explode forever in England the senseless superstition of the divine right of kings.

But this is not all that was gained by the Revolution of 1688. It was an era in the general progress of English liberty. It was a Revolution which led to religious toleration, to the supremacy of law, to the freedom of the press, to the independence of judges. It brought the royal prerogatives within safe bounds, and made it impracticable for government, henceforward, to pursue any course of policy not consonant with the views of the representatives of the people. Nay, there was then given to the English mind an impression, an impulse, which it never lost. The noble ideas of civil and religious freedom which then obtained in Great Britain, spread to her North American colonies. The Revolution of 1688 contained the germ of the Revolution of 1776. And whoever reads the Declaration of Rights, published by the convention that called the Prince and Princess of Orange to the government, will be struck with its resemblance to the Declaration of American Independence. They complain of almost the identical crimes in King James, which the colonies complained of in King George; and in the very spirit

of our Declaration, they insist upon the right of petition, the right of the governed to have a voice in the government, the right of free speech, the right of the nation to be governed by the just administration of its own pure and merciful laws. These things the Convention claimed in the name of the whole nation, as the birthright of Englishmen. So that the fault of our American fathers seems to have consisted in supposing it lawful that the same warm and generous pulsations of liberty should beat at the extremities, which were thus early beating at the heart.

But we cannot conclude this subject without remarking that William III. was a chosen and prominent instrument in the hand of Providence to protect the Protestant religion. God designs the final and universal spread of Bible Christianity in the earth. And state revolutions, and the rise and fall of dynasties, are made to promote this end as effectually as do the direct labors of the Church. Seldom is this great truth more clearly illustrated than in the elevation of William of Orange to the British throne. The juncture was critical. The Protestant cause was periled. In Great Britain the reigning monarch was a bigoted Catholic, and no exertions on his part would have been wanting to secure the ascendancy of the Catholic religion in the realm. On the continent a Catholic king was contending strenuously for universal sovereignty. Louis XIV. was a prince of great capacity and of boundless ambition. Ruling the powerful kingdom of France by right of succession, and claiming Spain as his inheritance by marriage, he set no bounds to his plans of conquest. Fancying himself a second Charlemagne, whose ambition he inherited without his magnanimity, he designed that all Europe should bow to his sway. And what favor Protestantism was likely to receive at the hands of the despot who revoked the Edict of Nantes, and thus, by a stroke of his pen, exiled from their homes a quarter of a million of his best subjects, may easily be conceived. And to increase the danger, James and Louis were acting in secret concert.

But "He that keepeth Israel neither slumbers nor sleeps." He that raised up Cyrus to restore his ancient people, was now interposing in a manner equally striking in behalf of his own cause. God had prepared William by the endowments of his mind, by education, by religion, and by the discipline of events, for just such a part as he was now called upon to act in the great plans of Providence. The political position in which he had been providentially placed, pointed him out also as the natural head of the coalition against Romanism. In him, England and Holland were united; as he continued through life, chief ruler in both countries. And the

Republic of Holland being the nucleus around which the other Protestant powers of the continent clustered, King William was better prepared than any other man to act as leader, and to impart unity and strength to the entire confederacy. William seemed fully sensible that in defending the Protestant cause he was doing a work to which God had called him. While he was yet only in the subordinate office of stadholder, this impression nerved him to exertion, both in the cabinet and in the field. And in his bold and chivalrous descent upon England, his object was not so much the British crown, as the acquiring of a permanent and powerful ally to the Protestant coalition. When firmly seated on the throne, this impression still shaped his policy. This was what rendered his policy unintelligible to many of the English nobility. They wondered why they could not fix his attention upon their petty feuds and rivalries. They looked that he should govern England as an end; but he was governing it as a means. They looked that he should prize England for its own sake, but he prized it for the sake of Europe. They remembered the first clause of his motto, "I will maintain the liberties of England;" but they had forgotten the second clause, or, in their application, narrowed it down to the British Islands, "and I will maintain the Protestant religion." But it was never forgotten by William. He remembered it in its largest import. It was the central idea of his administration. It explains his whole reign. For the simple plan of his whole reign was, so to govern England, that she should be in the best possible condition to lend her great strength, by land and by sea, to the mighty league of Protestantism against the common enemy of liberty and religion. This thought, deeply graven upon his ardent soul, that he was acting in the order of Providence, and for the highest good of the Christian world, was, no doubt, the sublime idea that sustained him under his indefatigable efforts in holding together the discordant elements of the coalition for twenty years. It was this zeal for God, this broad view of his designs, this faith in their accomplishment, that bore him up amid great reverses of fortune, and inspired him to the last with that heroic boldness, and that superhuman energy he so often exhibited upon the ensanguined field.

While, therefore, we are thankful to God that he had called forth a Luther, a Zwingli, a Huss, upon the continent, to spread the light of a pure Christianity there; and had given an Edward and an Elizabeth to commence the same good work in our mother country; let us not forget to praise him, that in this hour of peril he raised up William, the true "Defender of the Faith," to sustain the cause on both sides of the German Ocean. The bulwarks thrown around it by his hand,

the courage inspired by his intrepid spirit, brought that cause through its last great fiery ordeal. For since that time, what with the unbroken succession of seven Protestant sovereigns of Great Britain, and the revival of evangelical piety in that country and others under the Wesleyan system; what with the establishment of a most powerful Protestant Republic in this New World, and the general distribution of the Bible among the nations, the Protestant cause has passed out of danger. Christian and Faithful have got beyond the Cave of Giant Pope. Israel has escaped out of Egypt; and if the Roman Pharoah attempt to come after us, it is too late. We are now beyond the Red Sea, and further pursuit will only bury him in its billows.

ART. IX.—THE BIBLE AND SLAVERY.

The Bible and Slavery: in which the Abrahamic and Mosaic Discipline is considered in Connection with the most Ancient Forms of Slavery; and the Pauline Code on Slavery, as related to Roman Slavery and the Discipline of the Apostolic Churches. By Rev. CHARLES ELLIOTT, D. D. 8vo., pp. 354. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1857.

The Bible and Slavery! These are the two that are more recently confronted with each other in the great slavery controversy. It seems not now so much *slavery and profit*, or *slavery and republicanism*, or *slavery and emancipation*; but it is *slavery and the Bible*.

Slavery has been growing bold of late. As if encouraged and strengthened by legislative and partisan favor, it assumes to hold up its head, and its utterances are defiant and barefaced, and it has come to put on an unblushing front, and it makes no secret of intended advances and conquests, and has come to claim the whole nation and the nation's territory as its rightful domain, and proposes for itself the prominent place in the national affections and favors, and proclaims *monopoly or dissolution* as its watchword, and is challenging for itself a place amid the circles of respectability and goodness, and is presuming to lay its hand upon the Bible itself, and claims the religion of Heaven as its patron, guardian, and authority.

There is something curious, it must be confessed, in this decidedly aggressive and progressive movement. A strange anomaly, that of

the most stupendous slave interest on earth growing up, and towering in colossal dimensions, in the heart of the only great republic in the world, and wreathing itself intimately with the entire policy of that republic! Startling to the superficial eye is its victorious march upon freedom, and its repeated onslaughts and achievements. Years ago we saw it shoot up hundreds of miles amid the splendid domain of liberty, spreading itself thither, however, on the express condition that nowhere else, from ocean to ocean, should its presence be tolerated forever, above a certain figure of latitude. In our simplicity, we thought the so-called Missouri Compromise to have been a *bargain*. We supposed that that hideous projection of slavery far up amid the heart of freedom was for value received; and that the arrangement challenged all the virtue, all the binding efficacy, of a perpetual contract. And what man, from the Penobscot to the Rio Grande, had any other thought for thirty years subsequent to 1820? Yet the morals of slavery were competent to sweep away that contract in an hour, and clear the way for its indefinite expansion in whatever direction. So in good old times we thought that this slavery was a thing of the South land exclusively, and that we of the North had but little responsibility connected with it; while our Southern neighbors went so far as to teach us that this slavery was none of our business. Yet in latter days we have come to ascertain that slavery is not merely *Southern*, but *American*; that it is not a sectional, but a national affair; that the circumference of its territory is identical with that of the national realm; there being not a square inch this way of the British and the Mexican possessions, and from the Eastern to the Western ocean, that is not colored with the slavery tinge, and held, as with clamps of steel, to the slavery monopoly. We are instructed that state rights, so called, are to crouch down beneath this great overshadowing and all-grasping interest; that states and individuals are to give in their allegiance to this god, and one and all see to it that it sustains no damage; that they repress all risings toward freedom on the part of the enslaved millions, and render no aid and comfort to fugitive bondmen; but lend their vigilance and energies rather to the work of hurling these fugitives back to bondage, and lashings, and unrequited toil. And finally, when the legislative and executive functions of the nation had done their sad work, and bidden slavery to run rampant at will, forth comes the voice of the supreme judiciary conferring everything, and announcing in hot haste, that the negro is no man in the sense of the Declaration of Independence.

Glance now a moment at that beautiful land whose pickets against the approach of slavery have lately been swept away. Behold the

strife, shaking the whole nation to its center, for pushing slavery at once up over all that fairy realm. Recall the fully and loudly-expressed purpose, the barefaced and violent efforts, the lawless and barbarous cruelties and murders involved in this grand crusade for the triumph, not of freedom, but of slavery. Review the spirit and bearing of the entire South as it contemplated this contest. Write down for long remembrance the sorrowful apprehensions, even of Gospel ministers, apprehensions that Kansas would be lost to slavery; and as we gaze we exclaim, in our utter amazement, Who would have thought it! And yet, perhaps, it is hardly a matter of wonder that ministers of the Gospel who presume to hold slaves themselves, wish the prosperity of slavery everywhere, and for its extension into lands pledged by a nation's honor to eternal freedom.

Nor is it so very wonderful that these, and such as these, should endeavor to soothe their own and others' consciences by searching out, if it were possible, some seeming sanction of slavery from the sacred pages of the Bible. Be it remembered, that all over that beautiful South there are men, slaveholding men, whose consciences are ill at ease in respect to this grave matter of holding in involuntary servitude their unoffending fellow-men. One of these, some years ago, as he sat down to the pages of the great Channing, "reasoning of righteousness" on this theme of slavery, trembled like Felix before another presence. Ever and anon he would start from his chair in terror, and as he walked to the window of the parlor for relief, he would wipe great sweat drops from his pale and anxious face. This poor man, it is to be presumed, was but a representative of a multitude; for the Jeffersonian sentiment has by no means died out, even amid all the recent triumphs of the system, that the great God has no attribute that can take sides with slavery.

Hence does it seem incumbent, of late, on not a few Southern divines, to fall to work and rectify this lingering and troublesome conscientiousness on the subject of slaveholding. It is deemed a vital matter that the fanaticism of doubting the righteousness of such slaveholding should be exterminated from the Southern mind. It is reasoned, and reasoned, too, with great truth, that the "institution" will never be firm unless the religious sentiment be harmonious with its claims; that all movements of conscience demurring at its entire rectitude can only operate as so many volcanic fires, which, though pent up for a little, are yet liable to burst forth at any moment, and put in jeopardy the great and paramount interest of the country.

These efforts, however, each and all of them, to uphold American slavery by Bible authority, are abortive, and ever must be. The difficulty is that our Bible and our Christianity belong not to that

side of this question. Alas, for the sad mental perversion under whose influence a man fails to discern that, in the presence of the precepts and spirit of the Holy Bible, American slavery would perish in an hour!

The volume we have announced at the head of this article, traverses the whole Bible ground, and seems to us a conclusive and triumphant argument, on Scriptural grounds, against slavery; while it completely vindicates the book of Revelation from the sad imputation of proffering any countenance to such slavery. Few men, it is presumed, could be found, in this or any other country, better qualified than Dr. Elliott for a service of this character. His mature age, his extensive and varied learning, and his long-continued and careful attention to the subject of American slavery, and its relations to the Scriptures and to the Church, all sufficiently designate him as emphatically the man to spread out before us, clearly, intelligibly, and forcibly, the truths in this great case.

The following comprehensive statements drawn from the Introduction, indicate what is learnedly elaborated and abundantly sustained by the volume:

"Slavery is condemned in various ways in the history of the patriarchs, in the code of Moses, by the prophets, by Christ and his apostles. Among the patriarchs it is condemned in the case of Joseph, and of the Israelites in Egypt, and in the principles of right delivered in those times in Genesis. The law of Moses makes slavery a capital crime, worthy of death to the enslaver. (Exodus xxi, 16.) The same law regulates service so that it must never, in a single instance, become slavery. The prophets denounce slavery in every case in which the Jews perverted service into slavery. One leading object in Christ's mission was, to proclaim liberty to the captives: and his doctrines of brotherhood, of reciprocal good acts, and of love to others, proscribe slavery as criminal; and man-stealing, by the apostle Paul, is ranked among the most odious vices. The relation of master and slave was never originally instituted by any law of God; and whenever induced by wrong human laws, it is to be dissolved with the least possible delay, in consistency with justice and humanity."

The author then examines the patriarchal *service* as distinguished from patriarchal *slavery*, and clearly shows this service to have been the sum and substance of the servitude existing in the families of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. It is conclusively shown that this patriarchal service was founded on the conversion of servants to the true religion; that they were thoroughly instructed in the principles and practices of this religion; that no *force* was employed to subjugate the servants, that there were no patrols to guard them, no jails to confine them, no dogs to hunt them, and no chains to bind them. It is shown, further, that the patriarchs, though they bought servants, yet never sold them; that the tenure by which they were held, did

not transform them to property; that the service came to an end after a longer or shorter period; that there was no annulling of the fifth and seventh commandments; no withholding the laborer's hire, no binding of children to perpetual bondage, and no condemning them to follow the condition of the mother.

It requires only the most superficial glance to see that in all these important particulars, the patriarchal service was at a very long remove from the slavery of this country, and that the application of the leading features of the former would speedily overturn and uproot the latter. Says our author:

"Let no slaves be sold on any account; let schools of instruction be established; let religious institutions be maintained and supported by the slave code; let marriage be established; let no children be separated from their parents; let parental authority be respected; let no force of law, or police, or military be resorted to; let any leave their masters who will. These regulations, all of which are imbedded in patriarchal service, would annihilate slavery in America in about two generations, or even less. It is supremely absurd, then, to quote either the examples or principles of the patriarchs in favor of American or any other system of slavery."

Having thus disposed of the patriarchal *service*, Dr. Elliott advances to the subject of patriarchal *slavery*; and presents the case of Joseph as representative of this slavery, and with withering force and clearness, points him out as the type of our own national system of oppression. He shows that Joseph was seized by violence; seized, being free, and made a bondman; that he was sold; that he was, without his consent, converted into merchandise, exchanged for money, and doomed, in the intentions of his brethren, to interminable slavery.

Now these, all and severally, are the exact accidents of American slavery. This slavery, from Baltimore to San Antonio, is a stupendous system of violence and force.

This slavery clutches, every year, one hundred thousand little free children, and brands them with life-long bondage. Free? Yes, sir, free as the new-born heir in the palace of a British nobleman; free as Joseph, when his father said, "Go see thy brethren and bring me word." Slave laws, it is true, write these poor little children slaves by birth; but those laws are a great lie; and every such child is *enslaved*, enslaved after birth, and is a slave *by birth* not a whit more than he who assumes to own him. Then this American slavery, after it enslaves, transforms its victims into merchandise, like as Joseph was transformed, and this merchandise is sold, mortgaged, bequeathed, leased, and otherwise made use of, in precisely the same way, and fully to as wide an extent, as horses, oxen, sheep, mules, or dogs.

Here we have, then, the true parallel, and the only true one. Let Southern divines, who seek to find our slavery in the Bible—let them, like intelligent and honest men, see to it that they look in the right place. They will find it. The real, the unmistakable prototype is there. But hands off, gentlemen, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The servitude with which these holy men were concerned was no more your slavery, than was the dignified messenger negotiating at Padan Aram for a wife for Isaac, like your poor and crushed Sambo, sweltering in the cotton field, and smarting under the lash of the overseer. Off, off from Jacob and his ancestors, and go and pay your respects to Jacob's sons rather. To them belongs your hand of fellowship. They, and such as they, are the only models you can claim amid the Holy Scriptures. Theirs was the slavery of violence, so is yours. Theirs was the slavery involving the de-humanizing process, so is yours. Theirs was the slavery for gain, the slavery for silver, so is yours. Theirs was the slavery of wickedness, so is yours. Theirs was the slavery without jubilee and without hope, so is yours. Theirs was the slavery separating kindred souls, so is yours. Theirs was the slavery whereby a man "was stolen," so is yours. Theirs was the slavery where they "saw the anguish of the soul," and were they were "besought, but would not hear," so is yours. Theirs was the slavery from whose depths came up groans and requisition for blood, so is yours. Theirs was the slavery where were the archers and their piercing arrows, and where there were "feet hurt with fetters," and where the iron entered deeply, so is yours. Theirs was the slavery accursed by God and civilized man, so is yours.

Our author glances next at the Egyptian bondage, the slavery of the Hebrews; and having shown this bondage, hateful as it was in the sight of God, to have been, in several respects, more tolerable than ours, he comes to the examination of the Jewish Code and practice in reference to service. Here are considered: 1. The various classes of servants, and the different modes of becoming such. 2. The constitutional laws, principles, and wages of service among the Hebrews. 3. The rights and privileges of servants; and, 4. Comparison between service and slavery.

In his discussion of the first of these inquiries, it is shown, with great clearness and fullness, that no class of servants among the Hebrews at all answered, either in their *status* as servants, or in the mode of becoming servants, to the slaves of this country. It is made manifest that the lowest class, those approaching most nearly to the condition of American slaves, were yet far above them; that the stranger bought by the Hebrew, either *sold himself* or *consented*

to the sale, and consequently was not a *slave*; that those only sold themselves who were poor; that their term of service expired at the jubilee, by which the word *forever* is limited, when applied to individual cases. It is shown, further, that the laws protected these servants equally with their masters; that they had the benefit of the fugitive law, could flee to the city of refuge, could become naturalized and a part of the nation; were not subject to be sold, and were consequently not held as property, and their condition of bondage was not transferred to their posterity.

Having thus shown what was the Hebrew *practice* in relation to servitude, Dr. Elliott proceeds to illustrate that the Hebrew laws were correspondent with the view presented. His summary here we prefer to present in his own words:

"By the appointment of God Canaan was to be a free country, on whose soil no slave could tread and remain without becoming a freeman, and thus resume the exercise of his natural rights, of which, like our slaves, he had been feloniously and violently deprived in spite of justice. In this free country, it was provided that no such bondage as that of Egyptian bondage should ever be introduced. So that, in denouncing the bondage of Egypt, the system of slavery was condemned in the same sentence of prohibition. Hence the essential elements of slavery were condemned as capital offenses, and the punishment for this was death, equally with murder, or beating, or reviling a parent. (Exod. xxi, 16; Deut. xxiv, 7.) Thus there is the total absence of any law in the Mosaic code which tolerates, sanctions, approves, or establishes a slave system. And yet there is also the presence of many prohibitory laws, excluding all the leading characteristics of slavery. Therefore the eighth, ninth, and tenth commandments are indirectly at variance with it. And the two great commandments, love to God and love to man, are subversive of the system. The constant command in the exercise of human rights, *to avoid respect of persons*, condemns the system that reduces some to the lowest degradation, while it makes despots or tyrants of others. As God made of one blood all men, this respect of persons, as that which distinguishes the slave from the master, is clearly forbidden. The numerous rights and privileges, civil, religious, and social, cannot consist with slavery. And so alien is the system to the Hebrew nation, that their language never had a word exactly to correspond to slave, slavery, enslaver." "And they could be bought, not to enslave them, but to set them free. As there was no oppression allowed in Hebrew service, there was no need that the servant should leave his home to escape oppression. He had the civil law on his side just as much as the master had, and could sue for the fulfillment of the contract respecting his service. But the foreign slave, who fled to Judea for protection, became a freed man, and all Israel was bound to protect him at any cost. And there was the Sabbath year, which released perhaps two thirds, or more, of all the Hebrew servants; while the jubilee proclaimed liberty to all the inhabitants of the land without distinction. As to the effect of these two institutions on slavery, it may be gathered from applying it to our own system. Had two thirds of all our slaves been set free septennially since 1776, the year 1853 would have been the witness of eleven seven-year releases. This would have left few slaves in our land. Then had there been a jubilee in 1826, and did we look forward to another in 1876, our slave system would have been far from needing a Nebraska bill, or from calling for the annulment of a national compromise in favor of slavery."

How is it possible that these considerations can fail of their real force? Review simply two commands of the Decalogue, commands which are confessedly of universal application, and for all time, namely, the fifth and seventh. Employ a Southern doctor, such, for example, as Fuller, Smith, or Ross, to unfold the fifth commandment; and would either of them dare to teach that the duty of the slave child here, was not co-extensive with that of the free child? And yet do not these doctors know that the full performance of this duty of honoring parents is impossible in American slavery, is stubbornly inconsistent with it, and would be subversive of it? Or let these doctors preach, if they dare, the fullness of the seventh commandment, and enjoin upon the poor slaves strict obedience to its letter and spirit. Are they not shrewd enough to know that all this would be tantamount to preaching abolitionism? Do not these men know that, in the operations of our slavery, a slave man cannot properly promise to be faithful to his slave wife, and she to her husband, "till death doth them part?" Is there not another power that can part them, another power that *does* part them every day? Is there not another power than her husband's, over that poor slave woman's body, a power, to be sure, unrecognized and forbidden by the great God, but still a power involved in American slavery, and essential to it, and abundantly and frightfully exercised under its hateful sanction? Nothing seems plainer than that a system of slavery such as ours could never have existed among the ancient Jews. The righteousness of the Mosaic code would have come into collision with it at every step, and would have infallibly consumed it to utter death.

These views are entirely corroborated and confirmed by the well-ascertained rights and privileges of Jewish servants. Our author finds these to be that such servants necessarily become proselytes, that they had the full right to contract; that a copy of the law was "for the stranger" as well as those born among them; that the servants were invited guests at all the national and family festivals; that they were released from labor nearly half the year; that they were protected by law equally with their masters; that the greatest affection and kindness were enjoined toward them; that they were not to be oppressed and vexed; that they had the right to hold property and receive wages; that in all civil and religious rights they were on a level with their masters; and that their treatment at the end of the sexennial term of service is incompatible with the laws and usages of slavery. It is shown that while in these important respects the Jewish service differed from American slavery, it differed further as to its origin, the one growing out of compassion.

to the poor, the other from avarice; that the one was temporary, while the other is perpetual; that the one was generally voluntary, while the other is compulsory; that the Jewish servitude had no recognition of property in servants, while slavery recognizes it to all intents and purposes; that the former admitted the testimony of servants, while the latter refuses it; that the one provided for a release of the servant in the event of cruelty or oppression, while the other provides that the master use his discretion; and that the one guarded all the privileges of marriage in behalf of servants, while the other furnishes no such guarantee. It is further apparent that the Mosaic code made the same provisions for the education of the servant as for others, while the laws of slavery, as is well known, prohibit education to the slaves; and that under the Jewish servitude the servant might redeem himself, while slavery makes no such provision. Also, if a servant escaped to the land of Israel, he was free, but if a slave of the South flees to any region of the North, he is just as much a slave as before, and it is perfectly plain that "no two laws can be more at variance than the law of God and the fugitive slave law."

These and other points of difference specified by the author between the ancient Jewish servitude and our modern American slavery, illustrate, with the force of demonstration, the world-wide difference between the two, and the utter futility of all that reasoning which attempts to infer the righteousness of the latter from that of the former. Superior logic to this is that of the Mormons, whereby they think they deduce the propriety and innocence of polygamy from patriarchal and Jewish example.

The truth is, there is no more countenance for our slavery in the Jewish code and practice, than in the patriarchal servitude; while, if the Jewish sentiment, as it did always and everywhere, denounced the Egyptian bondage, much more would it disown and denounce the more oppressive slavery of our own country. We repeat it, there is no true type of American slavery in the Bible, save that of Joseph and similar oppressions; and never can this slavery be justified, except on grounds that would equally justify the sons of Jacob in the conception and execution of their abominable conspiracy against their brother.

Passing on to the New Testament, the clear summing up of Dr. Elliott on Christ in connection with slavery is, that nothing can be inferred from our Lord's alleged silence on the subject, in favor of slavery; that he never uttered anything favorable to it; that there are fundamental principles in his teachings which are opposed to the whole system; that he and his apostles expressly condemn the

practice of human slavery as a great sin; that the law of love is against slavery; that the golden rule prohibits it; that the brotherhood of man, as laid down in the New Testament, is against it; that such distinctions of inequality as slavery includes is forbidden in the New Testament; that the redemption of our race is antagonistic to slavery, and, finally, that Christ by his Gospel proclaims a general jubilee to man. Proceeding to the Epistles, the author examines carefully all the Pauline instructions bearing upon the subject of slavery. Here his finding is, that, according to Paul, masters were to render to their servants according to justice; that they were to render to them equity or reciprocal rights; that they were to dispense threatening or the use of the whip; and that they were to render to servants the privileges due them, such as not only justice, but kindness, remuneration, brotherhood, and other benefits; and in regard to the one matter of *justice*, as enjoined by Paul, the learned author concludes that this of itself "secures to the slave the rights of life, liberty, personal security, the ownership of the property secured by his skill and labor, the rights of marriage, of husbands and wives, of parents and children, and the rights of education and religion. It is *unjust* to withhold or wrest away any of these rights, according to Paul's teaching to masters and slaves. So the right to hold a slave is an *unjust, usurped* right, though established by law. The master is bound to relinquish at once the justice of his claim, and, till it is in his power to free him, render to the slave a *just equivalent* for his labors as to a hired servant, and never attempt by gift, will, sale, or otherwise, to transfer the servant, bound in chains, to any human being, whether son, daughter, or other person. Such is the amount of Paul's instruction to slaveholders."

Such is a meager glance at what we deem one of the very best and ablest books that has yet issued from the press on the relation of the Bible to slavery. As a literary performance, the work is not faultless. The principal defect the reader will find to be a tendency to repetition in the statement of the leading thoughts of the discussion. Yet all this is easily overlooked, if so be that it is the *truth* that is thus reiterated. And truth, we believe, is here, wholesome and weighty truth, worthy the most careful consideration of all; and we cannot doubt that its influence will be to aid essentially to divorce, in the minds of multitudes, the hateful slavery of this country from all connection with the Holy Scriptures. Such is the drift of the book, and yet, as we close these remarks, how astonishing is the thought that such an effort should be called for! How wonderful that men, claiming to be good men, and to have some knowledge of the letter and spirit of the Bible, and a knowledge of the

genius and practice of slavery, should ever presume to bring forward the former as Divine authority for the latter. This whole bad proceeding involves what would be termed in law a *non sequitur*.

Here runs the argument: "Whatever is countenanced by the authority of the Holy Scriptures is right. Slavery is thus countenanced. Therefore slavery is right." Now this argument will do, and we will yield to it, and forever after hold our peace, whenever you shall show us that the servitude countenanced by the Bible is identical with American slavery. Here turns all the force of this Bible argument in favor of slavery. But such an identity has never yet been shown, and never can be shown. On the other hand, the utter and hopeless discrepancy between the two is the clear and forcible showing of the book we have hereby noticed, while all the spirit of the Scriptures corroborates the showing.

ART. X.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA.

The Protestant Churches.—One of the most important ecclesiastical assemblies of Germany, the Conference of Representatives of the various German Church governments, met this year again, for the fourth time, at Eisenach, (from June 11 to June 18.) Twenty governments out of thirty-six had sent their representatives; among these Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, and Württemberg; but Bavaria and Hesse-Cassel refused their participation from fear of exciting resolutions, and the Danish Consistory of Lauenburg, from hostility to the United Churches of Germany. The conference desires the re-introduction of a stricter church discipline, but disclaims the expediency of invoking to this end the assistance of the secular arm. In the much agitated divorce question, the conference urges the necessity of a reform of the divorce laws, and lays down the general principle, that the admissibility of divorce ought to be judged of by the Holy Writ, and by the ecclesiastical marriage law, as far as the latter is not against the Scripture. In Prussia the clergy are no longer constrained by the civil law to remarry divorced persons in cases which are considered anti-scriptural. The approaching meeting of the Evangelical Alliance

at Berlin keeps awake the interest of all parties. The position of the Lutherans is decidedly hostile to it. Dr. Stahl has clearly intimated in the Berlin Pastoral Conference, which meets annually in June, and is presided over by him, that he prefers a coalition of the Lutherans with Rome against the Dissenters, to one with the Dissenters against Rome. Similar declarations have been given by all the leading men of the party, and the General Assembly of the Prussian Lutheran Associations at Wittenberg has *unanimously* passed the resolution that a participation in the endeavors and meetings of the Evangelical Alliance is inconsistent with the duty of a Lutheran toward his church. The necessity of re-introducing private confession, in which the minister *really imparts* the remission of sins, is more generally than ever urged by the associations of Lutheran clergymen, (during the last few months at Gnadau in Prussia, at Hanover, etc.,) but it is also acknowledged that the territory of the Lutheran Church has been to such a degree invaded by the prevailing ideas of the Reformed Church, and by the Democratic spirit of the times, as to make the accomplishment of their wish impossible for some time to come. Next to the confession question, it is the introduction of new hymn books which keeps up a

lively agitation in all German Churches. Those now in use, were mostly introduced at a time when Rationalism prevailed. The orthodox party, and in particular the clergy, are therefore desirous to have them replaced by better ones; but the means adopted for this purpose, are not rarely unjustifiable in a Protestant community. A deputation of Hungarian Protestants has submitted to the consideration of the emperor, the necessity of convoking a general synod, of having the necessary preparations for it made by the Church and not by the state, of restoring to the Church her former autonomy and her parochial schools. A new Protestant weekly has been commenced in Pesth, by Mr. Hornyanski, the editor of the *Protestantische Jahrbücher*, the most important organ of the Austrian Protestants.

The Roman Church.—In Prussia, as in many other countries, the Catholic nobility is very anxious to give proofs of a firm attachment to the doctrines of the Church, and the nobility of the Rhine-province availed itself therefore of the return of the Cardinal Archbishop of Cologne, from Rome, to wait upon him in a grand cavalcade, in order "to give to their archbishop, according to the example of their ancestors, a proof of their true Catholic sentiments." The King of Bavaria has granted several petitions of his bishops, but continues to offend the Catholic party by appointing Protestant Professors for Catholic Universities. The text of the concordat concluded between Wirtemberg and Rome, has been officially published, and is overwhelmed with the eulogies of the Catholic party, but will have to stand a hot trial in the next session of the legislature, before which it must be laid for ratification. The conclusion of the concordat between Baden and Rome has been announced, but the text of it has not yet been published. The Duke of Saxe Gotha has forced the Catholic hierarchy to an unconditional retreat, and the new Catholic pastor of the capital has refused to take an oath upon the constitution. In Austria the Catholic party is noiselessly making great progress under the continued patronage of the government, and not only colleges, but even the theological faculty of one state-university has been given over to the Jesuits.

ITALY.

The Roman Church.—The unsuccessfulness of the late Republican insur-

rections has again strengthened the good understanding between the Italian princes and the pope. Religious liberty being considered by the Roman Church, at least in Italy, as an ally of democracy and republicanism, the princes show less readiness than ever to grant a more extended religious toleration. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Dukes of Modena and Parma, (the latter a boy of nine years,) are eulogized by the Catholic press for the marks of respect which they showed to the pope on his journey through the States of the Church. Nevertheless the Grand Duke of Tuscany has not yet consented to dismiss his ministry, which is so obnoxious to the Catholic party. The King of Naples has made extraordinary concessions to the Roman Church, which in some instances grant even more than the Austrian concordat. The Jesuits have obtained a more extended influence on public affairs, although the periodical published by them in Rome, remains forbidden in Naples, as preaching doctrines dangerous to the state. Austria allows its Italian bishops to put on the concordat a construction which confers on them the censorship respecting all literary productions, and leaves to the secular government only the duty of executing the episcopal decrees. Thus the Bishop of Bergamo has issued a circular to his diocesans, forbidding them to write for the *Gazetta di Bergamo*, to print it, to read it, to subscribe for it, or to contribute in any way to its publication or propagation, and has appealed to the civil authorities to help him in the execution of this decree. The paper has been at once discontinued, and it is not known whether the government has done anything to correct the episcopal presumption. Sardinia has still a ministry and legislature which refuse obedience to papal decrees, but, in repeated instances, Protestants and Radicals have again been punished for being at variance with the state-religion. In Rome a young saint performing the most astounding miracles was found out to be an imposter. Similar investigations in other parts of Italy might have led to similar discoveries, for at about the same time, several Madonnas commenced again to wink with the eyes and to shed tears.

Protestantism.—The activity displayed by Protestant ministers and co-laborers in Sardinia, is as great as ever. Thousands of Bibles are distributed, and Bible depots established in almost every

town. The liberal press, even in the provinces, become more and more friendly to the cause of Protestantism. In several places, riots have again broken out against Protestants, and inferior civil magistrates have openly shown their sympathy with the outrages committed by the mobs. But on the whole, freedom of religion is still enjoyed by them, and their cause is hopefully progressing. In Tuscany a priest has attempted to prosecute a Protestant convert, but, as in former cases, the courts of Florence have protected the civil rights of Protestants. At the last meeting of the Waldensian Synod, the old administration, which had been in operation the last ten years, resigned, and were replaced by a new one, of which Mr. Malan, the pastor of Latoni, is president.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Romish Church.—The Spanish Cortes have formally repealed the law passed by a former legislature respecting the sale of church property, and restored amortization. Several other laws have been passed to please the Roman Church, although the ultra Catholic faction has had some bitter squabbles with the government and the now all-powerful party of the *Moderados*, because it does not wish to hear of *moderation* where the restoration of the privileges of the Roman Church is at stake. The concordat between the Portuguese government and Rome, respecting the Roman Church in India, has been brought to a conclusion, and has been ratified, with a few modifications, by the parliament.

SCANDINAVIA.

The Lutheran State Churches.—The strong Scandinavian movement in the politics of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, which aims at a closer union of the three countries so closely allied by common descent, customs, language, and church, (*i.e.* Lutheranism), has given rise to a Scandinavian Church Assembly, which was held at Copenhagen on July 14, 15, and 16, and attended by about one hundred Danish clergymen, and sixty from Sweden and Norway. This is the first Church Assembly of its kind in Scandinavia, and as the idea originated with a party which advocates religious liberty, we expect good results from it, for the lethargic Lutheran Churches of the three kingdoms. The same we hope from the law respecting a more extended religious liberty, which King Oscar of Sweden, after announcing

it on opening the Diet of last year, and then submitting it to the examination of the Supreme Court, has now laid before the Swedish Diet for discussion. The draft of the law has been altered and improved in some particulars, according to the suggestions of the Supreme Court; but its character on the whole remains unchanged. (See *Meth. Quar. Rev.*, July, p. 505.) In Denmark, the Diocesan Conventions, of which there are seven, are discussing the draft of a new Church Constitution, proposed to them for ratification, according to the Constitution of 1831, by the Minister of Public Worship. The draft was originally made by the majority of a committee appointed in 1853, for reorganizing the Danish Church, and proposes the creation of a Supreme Ecclesiastical Council, consisting of the seven bishops of the kingdom, and the Bishop of Iceland, two members of the theological faculty, and one of the faculty of law at the University of Copenhagen, seventeen representatives chosen by the clergy, and twenty-six by the laity. Two of the diocesan conventions have already rejected the new constitution; but will not be wholly opposed to the introduction of lay representation into their meetings.

The other Churches.—In Denmark and Norway the non-Lutheran denominations are rapidly increasing in membership. According to the last census of Denmark, the total number of Dissenters amounted to 10,581, (among them 4,143 Jews, 2,044 Mormons, 1,151 Roman Catholics, and 1,548 Baptists,) which is an increase of 4,000 over the year 1850. The increase in the number of Roman Catholics is 400, of the Baptists 800, and of the Mormons, over 2,000. In Norway, it is especially the Free Church movement, headed by Pastor Lammers, which makes great progress; but also the influence of the Methodist mission is spreading among the masses of the people, and there are deep awakenings and sound conversions at almost every meeting. The mission has already one hundred and forty-nine members, twelve class leaders, four local preachers, and one colporteur.

RUSSIA.

The Greek Church.—While the condition of Protestants and Catholics has become considerably better under the reign of Alexander II., the rigor of the government and of the State Church against the schismatic Greek sects shows no abate-

ment. It seems even that more forcible measures than ever are adopted to convert them to the Orthodox (i. e., Russian) Church. On May 20th and 21st one of the most celebrated sanctuaries of the Dissenters, situated in the government of Olonetz, was taken possession of by the governor and the Archbishop of Olonetz, and consecrated as property of the Orthodox Church, because a few of the schismatics had declared a readiness to let themselves be converted. The departure of a company of Russian missionaries (one archimandrite, three monks, four students, one surgeon, and one painter) for Pekin, where descendants of Cossacks form two Greek congregations, which Russia supplies with priests according to a treaty of 1728, reminded the Christian world again of the sad fact that one of the three large divisions of Christianity, the Greek Church, sustains no foreign missions at all, but confines herself to providing for the ecclesiastical wants of those of her members who live in foreign countries. A sermon held in St. Petersburg at the anniversary of the accession of the emperor, promises the co-operation of the State Church with the endeavors of the government, to introduce political reforms as long as the tie connecting the church and the people will not be torn, but threatens with a "woe," if that should ever be the case.

The other Denominations.—In several governments (Vitebsk, Minks, Volhynia, etc.) of Western Russia, where the nobility are mostly Polish Catholics, while the majority of the people are Russian, and in the communion of one of the Greek Churches, the nobility have given a proof of strong attachment to the Roman Church in a petition to the emperor to order the restoration of decaying Catholic churches, and the erection of new churches and parishes according to the wants of the Catholic people. The emperor has given no definite answer to this part of the petition; another part of which, asking for some favors to the Polish nationality, (erection of a Polish university, etc.) has been very severely rebuked. The Russian government watches with great satisfaction the bitter controversy carried on between the Russian and the Polish Catholics; Father Gagarin, a Russian Jesuit, charging the latter, in the name of the former, with making their Catholicism subservient to political ends, and wishing to convert the other Slavonian tribes to the Catholic Church,

by Polonizing them. Gagarin says, that as long as the Russians see the progress of the Roman Church among them identified with the progress of a foreign nationality, they will not cease to regard her as a foe of the greatness, the future and the historical mission of Russia. The manner in which the official press mentions this controversy, seems to indicate that the government means to make good use of it. In Finland, one of the Protestant provinces, the seven hundredth anniversary of the introduction of Christianity has been celebrated with great solemnities, and the emperor has availed himself of the occasion to eulogize the Lutheran clergy for its piety, and especially for its loyalty; and has bestowed on some of its members the title of Doctor of Divinity, and Russian orders. Even the Jews are not excluded from imperial favors, one of them having been made a nobleman. As in all the other European countries, they owe this progress of toleration to their money, for the new nobleman is a banker.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Established Church.—The Evangelical party has made several successful attempts to supplant some of the favorite High Church traditions by more evangelical innovations. In order to reach better the masses of the capital, among which irreligion and vice seem to spread with alarming rapidity, Exeter Hall, an unconsecrated place, and whose name even is in anything but good odor among High Churchmen, has been employed on Sunday evenings for Episcopal service. To an interrogation of the Tractarian Lord Dungannon, whether these meetings were in strict conformity with the practice and discipline of the Church, the archbishop has given the much promising reply that no greater reproach or disapprovement could be cast upon the Church than to suppose it incapable of accommodating itself to the changing necessities of the age. As an equally important step in the same direction, we hail the meeting of Churchmen and Dissenters, held in the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to express their common assent to the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Berlin. A plan for an alteration and improvement of the Prayer Book is likewise being organized by the Evangelical party, under the sanction of some of the recently appointed bishops. A progress of the Church in this direction cannot fail to baptize it with the spirit of evangelicalism,

which will leave no room to the hopes of the Tractarians. The latter have availed themselves of the decision of the judicial committee of the Privy Council, in the case of the churches of St. Paul and St. Barnabas, (Meth. Quar. Rev., July, p. 502,) to introduce on Easter Sunday, even more of the Roman Catholic ceremonial into their churches than before, and, as the preaching of the Rev. F. D. Maurice in a Puseyite church indicates, seem not to be opposed to an alliance with the Broad Church party, in order to check the triumph of Low Church principles. Both houses of Parliament have decided the Jewish Oath Bill, and the Maynooth question, as in former years, and the House of Lords has introduced material changes into the present divorce law.

The other Protestant Denominations.—The one hundred and fourteenth Annual Conference of the Wesleyan Church had the joy of reporting a year of annual prosperity. Both ministers and members look upon the present epoch as a new era in the history of the Church. The statistics show a gain of 6,314 members, with 17,415 probationers on trial. The extraordinary number of seventy young men have been received as candidates for the ministry, and one hundred and fifty-five applications for either new chapels (sixty-one) or the relief of old ones have been conditionally granted by the Chapel Fund. Also the Methodist New Connection, whose sixtieth Annual Conference was held at Nottingham, and the Primitive Methodists, who held their thirty-eighth Annual Conference at Cambridge, have had an increase of membership, together of about 3,000. The pamphlet written by Dr. Davidson, of the Lancashire Independent College, to explain the incriminated passages of his works, has been considered unsatisfactory by the committee of investigation, which at a subsequent meeting adopted a resolution expressing a want of confidence in Dr. Davidson as tutor to the college, and virtually involving his retirement from that office.

The Roman Church.—On two occasions, at the discussion of the Jewish Oath Bill and of the Divorce question, the Catholic members of Parliament have tried to effect the organization of a Catholic party, in order to bring the interests of their Church to bear on parliamentary questions concerning the whole land. In neither case, however, were

they sufficiently numerous to affect in any way the final decision. Parliamentary investigations, on some Irish elections, have brought to light that the most outrageous means have been used by not a few priests to intimidate the electors, and they have deprived one of the most fiery champions of the Roman Church, Moore, of his seat in the House of Commons, and Archbishop McHale, of Tuam, of his reputation and influence among a very large class of his Catholic fellow-citizens.

TURKEY.

The Greek Church.—New instances of outrages committed by Turkish magistrates and soldiers against the Christian population have again occurred; but no doubt is entertained concerning the good disposition of the sultan for his Christian subjects, and the Christians of Bosnia have received from their governor the favor that the fairs are no longer held on Sunday, but on Wednesday. The impression still prevails that, notwithstanding all the efforts made to prevent it, the Slavonian Christians will soon separate themselves from the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople, and establish their own Greek government. Russia is therefore again making great efforts to gain influence over them; but Austria also uses the high authority of its Greek Archbishop of Carlowitz, to gain a party among them.

The Roman Church.—Numerous Armenian families in Cilicia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, have acknowledged the authority of the pope, and have joined the United Armenian Church, whose patriarch has been recently acknowledged by the Turkish government as primate of the Armenian Catholics. This official acknowledgment confers on the United Armenian Church the same political privileges which the other Christian denominations enjoy. An attempt of the pope to introduce the Gregorian Calendar in the United Greek Church, has met with a decided opposition. The Bishop of Beyrouth, with his whole diocese and one hundred and fifty families in Alexandria, are reported to have broken off their connection with Rome, and the great majority of all church-members will follow their example if the pope refuses to give up the attempt to abolish the Greek Calendar. The eight bishops of the Church will meet in synod, in compliance with the wish of the people, and it has been decided to appoint a vicar in place of the patriarch.

Protestantism.—In Constantinople a sixth Protestant place of worship has lately been added by the American missionaries, for the preaching of the Gospel in the native languages; and already about fifty persons are present on the Sabbath, chiefly Armenians. The prospects for Protestantism continue to be very good. The Bible in the Mohammedan language is allowed to be publicly imported and sold, and has been accepted as a present by the sultan.

GREECE.

The Greek Church.—The convents and bishops have liberally contributed for the theological seminaries which the government resolved last year to erect. They are also willing to pledge annual contributions for the future. This enables the government to erect not only, as was at first intended, two of these seminaries, but several more in the various provinces.

FRANCE.

The Roman Church.—The Roman Church has passed three months of unusual quietness, nothing favorable or unfavorable of particular importance having occurred. Nothing has been heard concerning the case of the Bishop of Moulins, (see Meth. Quar. Rev., July, p. 504;) both the pope and the government apparently wish to hush it up. The amicable relation between Church and State remains, on the whole, unchanged, and the respect and obsequiousness shown by the prefects and other civil authorities to the bishops, make the Church contented with the present state of things. No Catholic party appeared, therefore, at the recent elections; the candidates of the government, although many of them were Protestants, Jews, and men of no religion, received in general the support of the votes which are controlled by the priests. Even Montalembert, in former days the great champion of the Catholic interests, has been deserted by scores of his former friends, and defeated, because he was this time not the candidate of the government, and a foe of the *Univers*. This journal, hitherto not at all a paying concern, al-

though it passes for the first Catholic daily of the world, has passed into other hands, and some of its editors have been dismissed. The many religious associations which have displayed their usual activity, have been increased by a new one, whose object it is to prevent the alarming progress of Protestantism.

Protestantism.—The polemic articles of the whole Catholic press against the Protestant schools, and the above-mentioned foundation of a new anti-Protestant association, sufficiently prove that Protestantism is progressing, and not checked by the persecutions which still continue in the provinces. On the progress of the Evangelical party in the two Protestant State Churches, Dr. Baird remarks in a recent letter, that out of seventeen ministers in the Reformed Consistory of Paris, it is believed that eleven preach the Evangelical doctrines, and four more are far from being decidedly opposed; while in the two Lutheran Churches of Paris, all the four pastors are Evangelical.

BELGIUM.

The Roman Church.—A bill on Charitable Institutions, which was passed by the Catholic majority of the second chamber, and intended to give to bishops and priests a greater influence on the bequests made for charitable purposes, has given rise to deplorable outbreaks of the popular indignation at Brussels, Antwerp, and other towns. Several convents, monasteries, Episcopal palaces, and especially the colleges of the Jesuits, have been attacked. At the same time the voice of the people has made itself heard in a legal manner, in the remonstrances of a great majority of town councils against the new law, and the Catholic ministry as well as the Catholic majority of the second chamber has thought it safest to retreat for the present, and to desist from the carrying through of the bill. Other acts of priestly despotism have increased the excitement, and it is considered as certain that the next election will bring an anti-Catholic majority into the House of Representatives.

ART. XL—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*Foreign Reviews.*

I. THE NATIONAL REVIEW, July, 1857.—1. Mr. Lever's Novels: 2. Recent Researches in Central Africa: 3. London Street Architecture: 4. The Alleged Non-existence of Shakespeare: 5. Critical Theories of Baur, and others, on the Fourth Gospel: 6. Miss Brontë: 7. Lord Brougham: 8. The Manchester Exhibition: 9. The University of London and Middle-class Education: 10. The New Parliament: 11. Books of the Quarter suitable for Reading Societies.

II. THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, July, 1857.—1. The Confraternity of La Salette: 2. De la Rive on Electrical Science: 3. Marshal Marmont's Memoirs: 4. Social Progress of Ireland: 5. The License of Modern Novelists: 6. Merivale's Romans under the Empire: 7. Goethe's Character and Moral Influence: 8. Schœlcher's Life of Handel: 9. Representative Reform.

III. THE QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1857.—1. The French Constitutionalists: 2. Electrification: 3. Ireland, Past and Present: 4. Internal Decoration and Arrangement of Churches: 5. Travels in China—Fortune and Huc: 6. Manchester Exhibition: 7. Homeric Characters in and out of Homer: 8. The Bill for Divorce.

IV. THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCE, July, 1857.—1. Cathedra Petri: 2. Ferguson's Illustrated Hand-book of Architecture: 3. Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel: 4. The Life of Charlotte Brontë: 5. St. John, Lord Bolingbroke: 6. Physical Geography of the Sea: 7. Theiner's New Annales Ecclesiastici.

V. THE JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE, July, 1857.—1. Apocalyptic Literature: 2. The Relation of our Lord Jesus Christ, as well to Joseph as to Mary: 3. Jesus when Twelve Years Old, at Jerusalem, and in the Temple: 4. Egyptian Dynasties—No. II: 5. Brandis on the Assyrian Inscriptions and the mode of Interpreting them: 6. Does the Bible need Re-translating? 7. Recent Researches in Chaldea and Susiana: 8. Analysis of the Emblems of St. John, Rev. v, vi: 9. Correspondence—Remarks on Hebrews v, 7: Remarks on Hebrews ix, 16, 17; Revision of the English Bible; Biblical Chronology; Darius the Mede; Annotations on Certain Passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews; Xenophon as an Historian, and as the Writer of the Anabasis; On the Origin of the Word "Sabbath."

VI. THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1857.—1. Ranalli's Italian History, from 1846 to 1853: 2. Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton: 3. Ferrier's Demonstrative Idealism: 4. The Book of Job: 5. Liturgies and Free Prayer: 6. Rudloff's History of the Scottish Reformation: 7. Does the Bible need Re-translating? 8. Writings of Dr. Doddridge: 9. Dr. Hodge's Essays and Reviews: 10. Critical Notices.

VII. THE LONDON (Wesleyan) QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1857.—1. Philosophy, Old and New: 2. Indian Missions—Martyn and Groves: 3. Cicero and his Contemporaries: 4. Decimal Coinage: 5. The Christian Sabbath: its History and Authority: 6. Canadian Agriculture and Commerce: 7. The English Scriptures—Testament or Covenant: 8. Irish Orators—Curran: 9. Boswell's Letters: 10. Kansas.

THE first article is an extended and elaborate essay, of nearly forty pages, upon the course of speculative philosophy prior to Christian Revelation, written in order to give a clear elucidation of the connection between the two; thence it traces the antagonisms and reconciliation of faith and philosophy in the Christian ages.

In the article on Kansas are given a prefatory view of the early history of Kansas, notices of several leading publications detailing its free-soil principles and trials, portraits of eminent border ruffians, descriptions of various pro-slavery outrages, and a succinct history of the course of the national government toward that ill-fated territory. It is needless to say that its sympathies are on the side of freedom.

VIII. THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1857.—1. Ancient Political Economy: 2. English Courts of Law: 3. Suicide in Life and Literature: 4. French Politics, Past and Present: 5. The Sonnets of Shakespeare: 6. "Manifest Destiny" of the American Union: 7. The Testimony of the Rocks: 8. Naples and Diplomatic Intervention: 9. The Life of George Stephenson.

THE sixth article is by Harriet Martineau, and while it gives a correct view of the facts in the present state of our country, we think it furnishes a false set of conjectures as to our future. We do not believe with Mr. Chambers, that we are on the inevitable inclined plane toward barbarism. We do not believe with the reviewer, that we are far gone in an actual revolution, of which disunion is the consummation. We do not believe that the alternative before us is a radical construction of our present national constitution or destruction. On the contrary, we believe that if every friend of freedom and eternal justice is alert, bold, and true, if our patriots continue fearless and faithful, if our Christian freemen shrink not from duty, we shall weather the storm, and guide the ship of state, freighted with the best destinies of humanity, into the quiet harbor.

The seventh article is a severe critique upon Hugh Miller's posthumous work, "The Testimony of the Rocks." It claims that Mr. Miller's perversions of the Bible are so obvious, that he did not dare to quote the sacred text; and his misrepresentation of geological facts too palpable not to be intentional!

IX. THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, August, 1857.—1. Bacon's Essays—Whately: 2. Isaac Watts: 3. French Treatment of Criminals: 4. Interior China—Medhurst and Fortune: 5. Scottish Lunacy Commission: 6. English Metrical Critics: 7. The Marriage and Divorce Bill: 8. Early Christian Songs in the East and West: 9. Inspiration: 10. The Indian Crisis.

It is pleasant to greet the re-appearance of this lost pleiad among the *Quarterlies*. Originally established under the auspices of Chalmers, not as a purely theological Quarterly, but as a literary periodical, surveying all topics from a true Christian stand-point, it long held a position second to none of the race in excellence, and unsuspected in the purity of its religious tone. But under a late regime, articles of questionable orthodoxy began to alarm its patrons, and the evil culminated in the January number, in an article on Chalmers, which, while ostentatiously reiterating the profoundest reverence for Chalmers, attacked the main points of Chalmers's faith, and especially assailed the doctrine of Scripture inspiration. This was done under a very self-complacent assumption, that if Chalmers had lived to the writer's own time, he could not have failed to possess the writer's own enlightenment, and to adopt his own opinions; that is, adopt opinions in most respects akin to the loose rationalism which Chalmers renounced at his conversion to vital Christianity, and combated through his whole earnest career. It was sad enough to trace the degeneracy of Chalmers's own Quarterly, and still more sad to learn that the author of the latest offense

was no other than Isaac Taylor. The Quarterly has now, after a suspension for a single quarter, been placed in new editorial hands; its first prospectus has been significantly re-published, and though the mighty mind of Chalmers does not pour its products into its pages, the theology of Chalmers re-appears within its articles. The doctrine of predestination will undoubtedly again, in some degree, color its issues; but that evil can bear no comparison with the sickly hue of rationalism. The former, injurious as it is to true piety, does often co-exist with evangelical religion, in a high, even though in a stiff and severe form; the latter relaxes the power and weakens the life, if it does not destroy the existence of all vital Christianity whatever.

The article on Watts, though infected with some ambitious rhetoric, is very attractive, and presents the character of the greatest of Christian hymnologists in pleasant view.

The article on Inspiration presents the orthodox view of Inspiration, though with no remarkable degree of power.

X. THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1857.—1. English and Normans—Sir Francis Palgrave: 2. The Chinese—their Rebellions and Civilization: 3. Bishop Berkeley—his Life and Writings: 4. French Romances of the Thirteenth Century: 5. Ages of Christendom before the Reformation: 6. Contemporary Notices of Shakspeare: 7. Charles Spurgeon and the Pulpit: 8. The Life of Charlotte Brontë: 9. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

THE first article is very valuable indeed, if it be true, as it seems to us, "that the History of England after the Conquest can hardly be intelligible to the man who has not bestowed some attention on the history of Normandy in times preceding." It is both interesting and instructive, evincing great research and considerable ability. The author incidentally brings out one fact which contravenes the common opinion, namely, that trial by jury, instead of being an institution older than the conquest, was not known in England earlier than the reign of Henry II.

The second article is a very life-like picture of the character of the Celestials, and a very clear indication of their present social and religious status. The author claims for those of whom he writes the *right to rebel*—basing this claim upon their character and the constitution of their government. We cannot, however, endorse his sentiment, that Tai Ping Wang, the leader of the Chinese insurgents, is merely a designing impostor. We believe him a religious enthusiast, deluded indeed, but yet sincere. Hence we anticipate greater and better results from his labors than does the author of this article.

The third article is an elaborate and able article on Berkeley, as a thinker on ethics and politics, and a member of society, rather than as a metaphysician. We have a brief notice of his public life, and also of his writings, especially of his *Alciphron* and *Querist*, which are perhaps least known and popular. One certainly derives a higher appreciation of the man and of his labors from this masterly sketch.

Very effectually does the author of the sixth article explode the modern and absurd theory that Shakspeare was not a man, but a committee, and that the plays published as his, were prepared by a secret society of advanced intellects, in order to expound a philosophy of practical life. So many contemporary notices of the great dramatist are furnished as to constitute a positive demonstration of his actual personality to such as chance to need it.

The seventh article we deem the fairest and the most correct critique of Spurgeon that we have yet seen in print. Asserting that neither his origin, his ecclesiastical relations, his culture, his presence, his thoughts, his taste, his voice, nor all these combined, will account for his almost unprecedented popularity and success, the reviewer finds the elements of the one and the other, in the absence of pulpit mannerism from his elocution, in his style, his pictorial power, his intense and manifested feeling, his doctrine, and the Divine influence which attends him. We anticipated, while reading his critique, his well-stated conclusion: "None need despair of making the Gospel, the good old Gospel, a power in the great heart of humanity."

XI. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1857.—1. Egyptian Antiquities: 2. The Pulpit: 3. Liturgical Revision: 4. Church Extension: 5. Researches in Palestine: 6. Interpretations of the Apocalypse: 7. The Mediæval Popedom.

THE second article is a timely, well-written essay, in regard to the nature, history, power, and influence of the pulpit. In alluding to the influence of impassioned pulpit eloquence upon the masses in the Reformation age, when the honest, earnest, uncompromising eloquence of Wycliff, Huss, Luther, Crammer, Ridley, and the whole band of Reformers came home to the hearts of the uneducated masses, and roused them to virtuous life, the writer takes the right view of the subject. And when he comes down to later times; to a period which we may denominate the second reformation, the same ground is recognized; and to Wesley, Whitefield, Rowland Hill, and Legh Richmond he ascribes the instrumentality through which the relapsed Church of the Reformation was awakened to a purer life. Admitting, as the writer does, that evangelical pulpits are thickly planted over all the land, even to its remotest corners, he feels that he is met at the threshold of his inquiry with a difficulty. He asks very properly, Why is it that the Gospel, preached as it is to thousands of perishing sinners in all parts of the land, is attended with so little result? Two reasons are presented, and the strongest is first brought to notice, which lays the sin at the door of the clergy. The writer is aware that the Tractarians would join issue with him on this question, inasmuch as they have a great dislike to the pulpit, for with them a sermon from ten to twenty minutes long, delivered either in a monotone or so mumbled as to be nearly inaudible, is considered quite sufficient, regarding, as they do, preaching to be a mere system of man's creation. He is ready to admit that though the "fox-hunting clergy," as he calls them, are like the publican, and harlot, and felon on the cross, yet in the eyes of God they are not so bad as the pharisees, the blind guides leading the blind, because the known reprobate cannot do as much mischief as he who, while the outside of the sepulcher is whitened, is within full of rottenness and dead men's bones.

Assuming that the pulpit is the God-appointed instrumentality for the conversion of sinners, and that the cause of so little result from the preaching of the Gospel is not to be attributed to any want on the part of Divine agency, the conclusion is inevitable that the difficulty lies in the pulpit. While it is not by might or by power, but by the foolishness of preaching it pleases God to save sinners, it is urged by the writer that there is a vast

difference in the instruments employed ; between the foolishness of Paul's preaching and the foolish preaching of the modern pulpit, and that multitudes found in the ranks of the modern pulpit have mistaken their calling. So much for the character of the pulpit of the Established Church.

The reviewer next inquires into the case of dissenting ministers. He admits that the Dissenters, as preachers, are vastly superior to the established clergy, so far as pulpit efficiency is concerned ; but then he says of them : "Preaching is too often almost the only thing cared for. If, in the case of the Church, prayers are unduly exalted and preaching culpably neglected ; in the other, prayer is too often a mere pretense for the exhibition of the utterer's fluency, and a wordy sermon, smoothly and forcibly delivered, the only attraction." He concludes his remarks on this comparison by saying good-humoredly : "One thing is, however, quite clear, that we cannot throw stones at each other. What we really do want is a combination of good preaching and earnest prayer." A cause why the Dissenters can muster so many more superior preachers than the Church, is the training their candidates receive. The course of training required of the students of Dissenting theological seminaries is then presented, and a comparison is instituted between them and the schools of Oxford and Cambridge.

The reviewer treats another point, in which he contends earnestly, but not wisely or warrantably, not so much for an educated ministry as for a ministry educated at the universities ; thereby imparting to it a qualification to minister successfully to the "gentry and aristocracy," a qualification which he affirms is absolutely unattainable except at one or the other of the three universities. All Dissenting theological institutions are thus ignored, and regarded as inadequate to produce a ministry whose qualifications are adapted to the "gentry and aristocracy." It may be that a certain kind of theological training may be necessary for the aristocracy which would not suit the masses, but we very much doubt it. The Gospel recognizes no distinctions but those comprehended in the terms sinners and saints, and its instructions, warnings, threatenings, and promises are univocal to all ; hence the idea of a class of ministers adapted to one portion of the race and not another, is, at any rate, not derived from the Bible.

That the use of furnished skeletons and plans is of doubtful utility we believe as heartily as the reviewer, and we would drive every minister from all "crutches" to his Bible, aided by reference to the original and the best commentators, and to his own thoughts, that out of his own treasury he might bring forth things new and old. The writer is particularly severe on extempore preaching, believing it an incentive to idleness. In speaking of this class of preachers he says : "Their ideas are often worn threadbare ; the same forms of expression and the same expressions are repeated over and over again ; and the torrent of their eloquence having after a time worn a channel for itself in a given direction, is sure to find its way into it, no matter from what point it started." These remarks are worthy of consideration, especially by those who never write their sermons or habituate themselves to think with the pen.

Article III starts out broadly and squarely in favor of a revision of the Liturgy of the Church of England, and shows that the Tractarians are wholly justified in their doctrines and practices by the strict philological meaning of the Liturgy, and intimates that the prosecution of Archdeacon

Denison is unrighteous on that account, and that he has a better, because more legitimate, right to his opinions than his opposers. The writer shows conclusively that the doctrine of transubstantiation is clearly taught in the Liturgy, as also the dogmas of priestly absolution and baptismal regeneration.

II.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

- I. THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, July, 1857.—1. Moral Insanity: 2. New Edition of Horne's Introduction to the Scriptures: 3. The Historical Epoch of Abraham: 4. The Scope and Plan of the Book of Ecclesiastes: 5. The General Assembly of 1857: 6. The Action of our Church Courts in Judicial Cases: 7. The American Bible Society and its New Standard Edition of the English Version.
- II. THE FREEWILL BAPTIST QUARTERLY, July, 1857.—1. Radicalism versus Conservatism: 2. The Doctrine of Regeneration: 3. Idea or Doctrine of the Trinity in Unity of the Godhead: 4. Miller's Testimony of the Rocks: 5. Researches in Chaldea and Susiana: 6. The Christian Sentiment of Human Nature, and its Development: 7. True Greatness: 8. Contemporary Literature.
- III. THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, July, 1857.—1. Life and Works of John Adams: 2. Mechanism of Vital Actions: 3. Present Geography of Palestine: 4. Sacred Latin Poetry: 5. Greek Proverbs: 6. Trees and their Uses: 7. Haven's Archæology of the United States: 8. The Imagination in Mathematics: 9. Turnbull's Life Pictures.
- IV. THE CHURCH REVIEW AND ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER, July, 1857.—1. The English Reformation a Catholic Work: 2. Emerson's English Traits: 3. Salaries of the Clergy: 4. The Rev. Stephen R. Wright: 5. The Spirits in Prison: 6. Dissensions in the Apostolic Age—No. II. Gnosticism: 7. The Early History of Religion.
- V. THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW, July, 1857.—1. Nature of the Argument for the Divine Existence: 2. Society's Future: 3. The Immaculate Conception: 4. Thornwell on Inspiration: 5. Missionary Explorations in Central Africa: 6. "The Testimony of the Rocks."
- VI. THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, September, 1857.—1. Recent Psychologists: 2. Bishop Hopkins on Slavery: 3. The Doctrine of Christ's Creatiorship: 4. The Destiny of China: 5. The Holy Land: 6. Gurowski's America and Europe: 7. Life and Works of John Kitto: 8. Our First Fathers, and their First Children: 9. Review of Current Literature.
- VII. THE MERCERSBURGH REVIEW, July, 1857.—1. Impressions of England: 2. Christian Architecture: 3. The Means of Grace: 4. Sketches of a Traveler from Greece, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine—(VII) Travels in the Peloponnesus: 5. The Inner Life of the Christian: 6. Fancy, Wit, and Common Sense: 7. The Reformer John De Lasky: 8. The Life and Labors of Michael Schlatter.
- VIII. THE NEW-ENGLANDER, August, 1857.—1. Opinion of Judge Daniel, in the Case of Dred Scott: 2. The Congregational Ministry of the Future: 3. Glimpses of Universal History: 4. Norwich Free Academy: 5. Two Years Ago: 6. Paul on Politics: 7. Negro Citizenship.
- IX. BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND AMERICAN BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, July, 1857.—1. Science and the Bible: 2. Religious Sects of Syria: 3. Exposition of Romans vi, 2, 8, and 10, 11: 4. The Ottoman Empire: 5. The Life and Works of Jean Racine: 6. Africa and Colonization: 7. The Egyptian Year.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—*MILTON.*

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) “*The Triumph of Truth, and Continental Letters and Sketches from the Journal, Letters, and Sermons of the Rev. JAMES CAUGHEY, as Illustrated in two great Revivals in Nottingham and Lincoln, England. With an Introduction by Rev. JOSEPH CASTLE, A. M.*” (12mo., pp. 420. Philadelphia: Higgins & Perkinpine, 1857.) These pages are characterized by the usual traits of Mr. Caughey’s productions, deep piety, rich illustration, and the great power to insinuate deep religious thought in attractive forms into the popular mind. We have heard that somewhere in his works the sharp eye-glasses of theological critics have detected some actual grains of heresy. It may be. We have not read all his pages, nor have we read those pages with our sharpest critical glasses on. Our impression is, that the damage of the heresy, if such there be, will not be the myriadth part of the good by the wide popular diffusion of the rich religious thought and feeling which impregnate the works of this earnest and eminent evangelist.

The introduction, by the Rev. Joseph Castle, is a graceful and thoughtful production. Yet to one of his conclusions we must enter a strong dissent. Comparing Mr. Caughey with our other great preachers, Mr. Castle inquires why Maffit, Bascom, and Summerfield, who were his equals or superiors in piety and eloquence, could not reckon hundreds of souls converted, perhaps not tens, to his thousands. To this question he settles upon the Calvinian answer, “*God wills it.*” Alas, my brother, does not God *always* will it? Is there not danger of charging our own remissness on God? Our solemn feeling is, that in most cases it is not God’s will, but man’s will, namely, the minister’s own will often, that is wanting. Our solution is that Mr. Caughey, humanly speaking, converts souls because Mr. Caughey means to convert souls. That and nothing else is what Mr. Caughey aims at, prays for, works for, and, please God, *will have*; and pleasing God, he does have. This is a most momentous point.

There are preachers, by myriads and majorities, and deeply pious ones too, that never once in all their lives distinctly concentrated their purposes to the single point of converting men. Their efforts are to finish an eloquent sermon, to develop theological or Biblical truth, to thrill æsthetically an audience, to pour forth general religious emotion, to spread a popular fame, to gather crowds, to build a large church, etc. Verily these have often their reward, namely, success in their objects. But here is a lonesome preacher, who does not object to all these; but, with or without them, by study, by closet, by pulpit, by pastoral work, some or all, *he MEANS to convert souls*, and just so many as he can. Where this is attained all the other success is well enough. Where this is not attained, all the other success does not comfort him a penny; he goes off crest-fallen and disappointed, indignant

at the devil and himself. He will not stay there where Satan has beaten him ; but he will go where, please God, he can get some souls.

Is not this the secret of the success of Methodism ? So long as our ministers go from their annual conference with a conscious, solemn feeling that their *business* is this year, through God's grace, to have a large number of souls truly converted ; so long as they return to the annual account with the feeling that souls gained or not is the test of faithfulness and success ; so long will the harvest of God continue, and the work of God, by Methodism, will swell like the swelling flood on the face of all the earth. When this ceases, and God's will is held responsible, God will not do the work.

Applying this solution to the three examples named by Mr. Castle, we are at no loss. Maffitt, in his golden days, did convert his thousands, surpassing Mr. Caughey in this respect, for that was his unerring aim. Bascom aimed to be the *pulpit orator* ; his purpose terminated in the elaborate harangue, the thrilled audience, and the gathering crowd. He did not entertain the downright purpose of conversion. Summerfield terminated his effort with pouring his own rich religious emotions upon his melting congregation ; but his emotion did not go forth into the sharp volition and the determined practical drudgery of action. And we think that this same analysis exercised upon every minister of strength and ability, would, in nearly every case, bring out the answer to the question, What prevents this able minister from converting souls ? He does not, in the full force of the word, TRY.

(2.) "*Pulpit Eloquence of the Nineteenth Century* ; being supplementary to the History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence of deceased Divines ; and containing Discourses of Eminent Living Ministers in Europe and America, with Sketches Biographical and Descriptive, by Rev. HENRY C. FISH. With an Introductory Essay by EDWARDS A. PARK, D. D., Abbott Professor in Andover Theological Seminary." (8vo., pp. 815. New-York : M. W. Dodd, 1857.) The work to which this is supplementary, noticed in the Quarterly for July, 1856, furnished a view of preaching and preachers from Tertullian and Chrysostom to the commencement of the present century. The present volume presents us sermons from fifty-eight of the more prominent evangelical ministers of the nineteenth century, all now living, with the single exception of Adolphe Monod, who has died since the preparation of the work was commenced. Accompanying the discourses are biographical sketches of their respective authors, introducing us to somewhat of an acquaintance with these great lights of Christendom, and enabling us to peruse the work with a more home-like and eager interest.

The Introductory Essay shows "The Influence of the Preacher" upon the intellect, taste, business, and moral and religious character of his hearers. That influence is further illustrated by the little time demanded for great results, as in a single discourse, and often in a single sentence ; by the evil sometimes produced by a preacher in a very short time ; and by the fact that it becomes greater and better as ability and faithfulness increase.

Then we have the sermons. First comes the German pulpit, with its array of nine noble names, of which those of the learned Tholuck, the profound Müller, and the eloquent Krummacher, especially excite our expectations. Among the eight selections from the French pulpit, we find the names

of D'Aubigné, Gaussem, and Malan; men who have dared and suffered for the name of the Master. The American department is fuller than any other, giving us eighteen sermons, and containing, among others, the names of Williams, Barnes, M'Clintock, Bethune, Potter, and Durbin. Of the selections from the English pulpit, we may mention Melville, James, and Bunting; and from the Scotch, Guthrie and Candlish, two of the four leaders in the institution of the Free Church in 1843. The Irish and Welsh pulpits follow in order. A large portion of these discourses appear in print for the first time, and the pleasure of the various authors has been in nearly every case consulted.

Mr. Fish applied himself to a very delicate task, when, from the multitude of genuine pulpit orators of this age, he undertook to select a limited number to serve as representatives in their profession. He has executed his task with considerable skill. Though we might not be disposed to make precisely the same choice, we accord him the praise of having furnished an interesting and valuable contribution to this department of literature. One third of the discourses are from foreign languages, and the entire volume abounds in the living, glowing truths of the Gospel.

W.

(3.) "Die Lehre von der Person Christi, entwickelt aus dem Selbstbewusstsein Christi und aus dem Zeugnisse der Apostel, von Wolfgang Friederich Gess, Theologischen Lehrer an der Evangelischen Missionsschule zu Basel. Basel: Bahnhmaier's Buchhandlung, 1856." (The Doctrine of the Person of Christ, Developed from out of the Self-consciousness of Christ and the Testimonies of his Apostles, by Wolfgang Fr. Gess, Theological Teacher in the Missionary School at Basle, 1856.) The God-man Jesus Christ is the foundation of his Church, the center of history, not so much by what he has taught, done, or suffered, as by what *he is*, and the Church knows him to be. This has come to be more and more understood by friends and enemies, all knowing, that as long as the center is safe, all attacks upon the periphery must be ineffectual; but also that as soon as the center is taken, the surrender of the rest follows as a matter of course. The enemies, especially the left wing of the Hegelian school, have, therefore, given up many of their less important positions, have adopted the phraseology of the most orthodox, in order to find access to the very heart of the Church, and, by plunging the dagger to the very hilt into her heart, to put a stop to her existence at once. The Church has had, in order to ward off the blows of such an insidious foe, to shift her position from time to time, and the glorious results of this protracted warfare are the classical Christological works of Dorner, Liebner, and others. Our author has gone beyond the consciousness of the Church to the very source, the self-consciousness of Christ himself concerning his person, and the result of his labors, forms thus the first link of that glorious chain that binds God and man together. He sets out with a mind as much as possible unbiased, taking but *one thing for granted*, namely, that the Bible is true; and asks: "What says Christ of himself? what say his apostles of him?" The work is divided into five sections. The first section treats of the direct testimonies of the Lord concerning himself, and of those of his apostles, especially Paul and John, on the same point. These testimonies are then compared with each other, and

thus their force brought out: Christ's teaching concerning the personality of the Holy Ghost is here interwoven. The second section treats of Christ's humanity, the incarnation, sinlessness, and the manifestation of God's glory through him while he was on earth. The third discusses the glory of the exalted Saviour, the participation of his human nature, of his glory, and the nature of his government. The fourth treats of the historical development of the Son of God, from the incarnation to the ascension and the glory of the Son. The fifth and last treats of the incarnation of the Son and of the Trinity, and is theosophic in the best sense of the term. We hail the publication of this work as well-timed, and wish that it may soon be made accessible in a good translation to the widest circle of American readers.

R.

(4.) "*The City of Sin, and its Capture by Immanuel's Army.* An Allegory, by Rev. E. F. REMINGTON, A. M., of the Protestant Episcopal Church; with an Introduction by Rev. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D. D." (12mo., pp. 336. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1857.) Mr. Sheridan in one of his plays makes Mrs. Malaprop, (the Mrs. Partington of the day, or rather of his drama,) among other happy blunders, exclaim, "O, he is as furious as *an allegory on the banks of the Nile!*" Whether Mr. Remington's allegory be "furious" or not, those who read it will agree that it is full of exuberant life and movement. The varied powers of vivid analogy, pictorial description, and of rapid, vehement, billowy declamation, are brought in full display. Mr. Remington's logic even is imaginative; he reasons as the Mexicans wrote, by rapid serial pictures. Thus in his preface, deprecating the being prevented by fear from attempting allegory after Bunyan, he argues thus:

"Many, influenced by fear or pride, refuse to shine as twinkling stars because they cannot flame as blazing suns. They will not pour the murmurs of the cascade around them, because they cannot rush and roar like Niagara. They will not fan the fevered brow of humanity with the light wing of zephyr, because they have not been permitted by nature and grace to career with the whirlwind. Now all such men should remember that gunboats are often more useful than three-deckers. The sun is useful, so is a torch carried to men lost in a cavern. A chariot of fire and horses of fire were sent to take Elijah to heaven, but the ravens were sent to feed him. John Bunyan in his *Pilgrim's Progress* has erected a Parthenon; Dr. Cheever in his *Voyage to the Celestial Country* has built a Theseum; but the writer has not been deterred on that account from rearing his humble cottage, hoping that its friendly roof will afford to some careworn traveler shelter and repose."

We recommend this book to all who desire to indulge or to cultivate theceptive feelings and powers in the sphere of religious thought; to all who wish to enjoy a few hours of pleasant reading revery, without resorting to the secular romances of the day. The narrative, under a garb of fancy, is truthful; its lessons are obvious and valuable, and conveyed in a rich, eloquent, and impressive style.

(5.) "*Stockton's Periodical New Testament.* No. 1. September 1. Price 50 cents, post free. Matthew, with Index, Introduction, and Plates." (18mo., pp. 60. Philadelphia: T. H. Stockton, 1857.) Dr. Stockton is

here issuing the New Testament in a new and original mode. In curious accordance with modern notions he makes it a *periodical!* And so beautiful! If we lavish cost on what we value, can we lavish too much magnificence on the Divine Word? This unique periodical is bound in flexible cloth covers, gold-stamped, and gilt-edged, and can be sent by mail, unrolled, smooth, and post-paid, to any subscriber. The print is rarely choice, and we cannot peruse its pages, well arranged in paragraphs, without wishing that the sacred text might never again be shattered into the arbitrary fragments of the absurd verse system. The necessity of reference does, indeed, require that the chapter and verse figures should still maintain a place in the margin; but no necessity requires that the sacred text should be marred, and the meaning broken up, so as to make the most flowing narrative or the most consecutive argument look, and even impress the mind, like a series of independent maxims.

To the beautiful text is appended a fine "Literary Apparatus." That is, we have a copious index instead of the ordinary head lines; Horne and Tregelles' revised and improved Introduction, and Nelson's unsurpassed colored plates. The single number before us is a most choice pocket edition of Matthew's Gospel. The numbers, commencing with September 1st, will be issued every two weeks, and close with about the close of the present year.

Let us propose that the many thousands, in our various religious denominations, who have enjoyed the unpaid delight of listening to Dr. Stockton's rare pulpit eloquence, should send him a testimony of gratitude, as well as of esteem for his pure and lofty character, in the form of a subscription for his sacred *periodical*.

(6.) "*Minutes of Several Conversations* between the Ministers of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, at their Thirty-Fourth Annual Conference; begun in the city of Toronto, on Wednesday, 3d, and concluded on Saturday, 13th of June, 1857." (18mo., pp. 94. Toronto: George R. Sanderson, Conference Office, 1857.) These Minutes furnish cheering evidence of the prosperity of our beloved brethren of the Canadian Wesleyan Church. They report an addition of two thousand members the past year. Besides the increase in numerical strength, the Pastoral Address expresses the confidence that Christian holiness is not only becoming better understood as a doctrine, but more richly enjoyed in practice, resulting not only in a higher standard of Christian life, but in the conversion of sinners. Sabbath Schools and Bible Classes are multiplying in number and increasing in usefulness. Their Book Rooms at Toronto are successful in the work of diffusing a religious literature. Their periodical organ, the *Christian Guardian*, is richly supplying the wants of the adult Church; while their Sunday School Advocate is feeding the Church's nursery—the Sabbath school. Their young university, Victoria College, has never been so prosperous, either in literary or religious condition, as at the present time. The most cordial recognition of the delegates from our Church, Rev. Dr. Raymond and Rev. William Hamilton, is recorded. We notice these tokens of the prosperity of our Canadian brethren with hearty Christian thanksgiving. Never has a truer sympathy pervaded the great body of Methodism in different countries of the world, than at the present hour.

(7.) "*Universalism not of the Bible*; being an Examination of more than One Hundred and Twenty Texts of Scripture, in Controversy between Evangelical Christians and Universalists. Comprising a Refutation of Universalist Theology, and an Exposure of the Sophistical Arguments and other Means by which it is Propagated; with a General and Scriptural Index, by Rev. N. D. George." (12mo., pp. 420. New-York: Carlton & Porter.) To produce a controversial work upon a subject which has caused so much animosity, avoiding, on the one hand, bitterness of spirit and unjust crimination, and, on the other, too great leniency to the foibles or the vices of opponents, and to carefully scan every leading position, so that nothing of real importance shall be omitted, without at the same time burdening the work with unnecessary matter, is one of the most difficult achievements of authorship. Yet these conditions are met in the book before us, with an apparent *naturalness* of effort, which proves the writer well qualified for his task.

The work evinces in its author a keen power of analysis in his criticisms of Scripture texts, and a clear perception of logical relations in arguments; while the ease with which he shivers the sophistries of his foes, and turns them into instruments of the most withering sarcasm and rebuke, we have never seen excelled. No honest and unprejudiced man can read this Refutation and Exposure without being fully convinced of the hypocrisy, falsity, and rottenness of the system which it so ably condemns. Hence we say to all who may have occasion to inform themselves respecting this subject, get "*Universalism not of the Bible*."

Its General and Scriptural Index is one of its most valuable features. P.

(8.) "*The Wise Master Builder*. A Sermon by Rev. T. F. RANDOLPH MERCEIN, A. M." (18mo., pp. 27. New-York: Printed for the New-York Conference, 200 Mulberry-street, 1857.) This is a final memento left by one of the most gifted minds of our American Methodist Church. Mr. Mercein united in no ordinary degree the fancy of the poet, the acumen of the metaphysician, and the eloquence of the orator. He departed too early for the general Church fully to realize her loss. The readers of our Quarterly have suffered, too, an unknown loss, for the present editor had expected from his pen a series of articles such as perhaps scarce a single survivor in the Church could surpass. This discourse was prepared for delivery at the session of the New-York Conference, June, 1857. Death snatched the author away, and the sermon having been read by another to the conference, was published by its request. Though evidently without the author's last touches, it is a production worthy his noble mind.

(9.) "*Modern Anglican Theology*; Chapters on Coleridge, Hare, Maurice, Kingsley, and Jowitt, and on the Doctrine of Sacrifice and Atonement, by the Rev. JAMES H. RIGG." (12mo., pp. 392. London: Alexander Heylin, 1857.) We announced the approaching publication of this fine volume in the Synopsis of Quartetlies of our last number. With the ability of Mr. Rigg to handle the topics and the characters indicated in the title of his work, the past readers of our Quarterly are amply acquainted. The clear thought and nervous style of Mr. Rigg place him in the first rank of

our writers upon theological and metaphysical questions. The volume possesses rare attraction for the class of minds addicted to those high walks of thought.

(10.) "*The State of the Departed*; an Address delivered at the Funeral of the Rev. BENJAMIN MOORE, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New-York; and a Dissertation on the same Subject, by JOHN HENRY HOBART, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New-York." (12mo., pp. 94. New-York: Thomas N. Stanford, 1857.) Dr. Hobart has left a great and permanent reputation in the Church of which he was a pillar and an ornament, as an able prelate, scholar, and divine. The little work before us contains an eloquent tribute to the deceased bishop, and a brief argument on the subject named in the title. The dissertation has value at this time in opposition to the doctrine of annihilationism and kindred heresies.

(11.) "*Sermons on Special Occasions*, by REV. JOHN HARRIS, D. D., Author of 'The Great Teacher.' First Series." (12mo., pp. 375. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1857.) These sermons are marked in an eminent degree by all the expansiveness of view, originality of conception, and poetic beauty of language which have characterized the former productions of the author. They are rich in the expression of deep religious emotions and the exposition of evangelical doctrine.

II.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(12.) "*History of Wesleyan Methodism*: Vol. I, Wesley and his Times, by GEORGE SMITH, F. A. S., Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, of the Royal Society of Literature, Fellow of the Genealogical and Historical Society, etc." (12mo., pp. 748. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, Paternoster Row, 1857.) Mr. Smith is a scholarly Christian layman, resident at Trevu, Camborne, England, who devotes his time and talents to investigation and publication in the attractive field of religious literature. His large and able volumes upon Sacred Annals have been republished at our American Book Rooms, and have become standard in their department. A new work from his pen, of special interest to the sacred scholar and the minister of the Divine word, entitled *Harmony of the Divine Dispensations*, will soon be put to press.

The work under our present notice aspires to be a standard history of the great Methodist Revival, commencing with a biographical account of the Wesleys, and tracing its progress, at any rate, down to the year 1815. To this point the second volume, to be published early in the ensuing year, will bring it. From various acknowledged sources, the author has brought fresh facts and illustrations, and the whole is expressed in the author's usual clear, manly, and sometimes eloquent style.

One of the most interesting points brought out by Mr. Smith is the final and conclusive proof that Mr. Southey was ultimately convinced that his celebrated biography of Mr. Wesley did not truly appreciate the character of

that great and holy man. Methodist writers have never represented that Mr. Southey was dishonest. They have candidly attributed to him the intention of doing Mr. Wesley impartial historical justice. But they have most firmly and most truly maintained that Mr. Southey viewed his illustrious subject from a false stand-point, and therefore falsely. Place Mr. Southey himself in the right position, and he will see Mr. Wesley aright. That Mr. Southey had found his right position, and at last had seen with clear vision the real MAN, has been often rumored, but is now clearly demonstrated. After narrating testimony to some verbal acknowledgments by Mr. Southey, which, however clear and well authenticated, are still liable to objection as being merely verbal, Mr. Smith furnishes the following letter of Mr. Southey addressed to James Nichols, Esq., in which the fact that Mr. Knox's arguments had changed his views, is placed upon imperishable record. Mr. Smith furnishes a fac-simile of Mr. Southey's autograph:

"KESWICK, August 17th, 1885.

"DEAR SIR.—I am much obliged to you for your letter and for your kind offer to lend me such books as may render my Life of Wesley less incomplete.

"The edition of his works (1809-13) in seventeen volumes (one containing only the Index included) I have. I will therefore only trouble you for those volumes of the new edition that contain Mr. Benson's Life, and the additional letters; and also for Beal's early History of the Wesleys, which I had never before heard of.

"Adam Clarke's *Memoirs of the Family* I have, and mean to make use of it. Indeed, if you tell me, when you have inspected his additional matter, that his second volume will, in your opinion, be worth waiting for, I shall much rather wait for it, than lose the opportunity of making my new edition as correct as I can.

" My intention is to incorporate in it whatever new information has been brought forward by subsequent biographers, and, of course, to correct every error that has been pointed out, or that I myself can discover. Mr. Alexander Knox has convinced me that I was mistaken in supposing ambition entered largely into Mr. Wesley's actuating impulses. Upon the subject he wrote a long and most admirable paper, and gave me permission to affix it to my own work, whenever it might be reprinted. This I shall do, and make such alterations in the book as are required in consequence.

"The Wesleyan leaders never committed a greater mistake than when they treated me as an enemy.

"I shall be greatly obliged to you for any document with which you can supply me. I have some interesting matter (direct and collateral) to add; nothing, I think, material to alter, except on the one point upon which I had judged injuriously of Mr. Wesley. But my work will not be the more palatable on this account to those who have declared war against it.

"Farewell, dear sir, and believe me, with many thanks, and with sincere respect, yours very truly,

"ROBERT SOUTHEY.

"To JAMES NICHOLS, Esq., 46 Hoxton Square."

Many have accused our Methodist fathers here in America, of an inordinate reverence for Mr. Wesley. A servile self-subjection to his authority, and an overweening readiness to label his name upon every connectional object and institution, have been imputed to them. Now, we believe the personal temper of the writer of this notice has never been held as inclined to an over-ready submission to *mere* authority. Yet we are forced to recognize something true and magnanimous in this bravely raising the Wesleyan

name on our banner, when the world had as yet learned to pronounce it only with depreciation and slight. There was not, we are bold to say it, *servility*, but **MANLINESS** in this braving the world's scorn until the world had learned better. The calmest examination, the maturest reconsideration, emboldens us to say that we are not ashamed, or likely to be, of our founder. Let time test the genuineness of his pure greatness; let investigation search every secret of his history and every motive of his soul, and we will close the inquisition by asserting, we are no more ashamed of our reverence for Wesley than for Washington. We assert more. We believe his pure full greatness is yet to be measured and appreciated. Who has yet estimated not merely his purity of motive, his practical statesmanship, his mastery of human nature, but what we may call his moral prescience, by which all the great Christian enterprises and reforms of the nineteenth century seemed germinating forth from his far-reaching mind, as the oak is outlined in the acorn whence it springs. How singularly have the Bible, missionary, tract, temperance, Sunday school, and anti-slavery movements, as they have successively risen in all the pride of originality, suddenly been surprised to find that his grand mind had already pre-occupied their ground and uttered brave, bold, piercing words, that sound like prophecy and cut like lightning.

(13.) "*Biography of Samuel Lewis*, First Superintendent of Common Schools for the State of Ohio, by WILLIAM G. W. LEWIS." (12mo., pp. 429. Cincinnati: Printed for the Author, 1857.) We have received, with much pleasure, from our Cincinnati Book Rooms, this fine volume, by Professor Lewis, being a noble memorial from a son to the character of a great, a good, a heroic man.

Samuel Lewis is a name well known to the people of Ohio. Its bearer had a main hand in founding and shaping her educational institutions. He has left behind him age-enduring monuments. He was a member, a local preacher, and a conspicuous ornament of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and did much toward securing the right moral position of Methodism in that state. He might have won the highest honors of state, but the bawbles that dazzle other's eyes had no fascinations for him.

"A great man!" exclaimed a candid *conservative* friend of ours, who took up this biography, "a truly great man was Samuel Lewis." It had never before come to our ears; but on further inquiry, we found that the friends of Mr. Lewis did not hesitate to name him in comparison with Webster or Benton. With powers that would have made him able to cope with such men, he possessed a moral elevation which made him decline to stoop to the base compliances by which men who are great by talent, are obliged to secure greatness by position. Mr. Lewis did not fail of their elevation, *but* refused it. Wherever work was to be done, sacrifices to be made, or obloquy to be borne, in the cause of human good, Mr. Lewis felt it to be his duty to be principal performer; but when the victory was to be shared, and the spoils to be divided, he considered himself justifiably absent.

Much interest is spread over the latter part of the volume, from the fact that Mr. Lewis was a leader of the heroic band of original Christian abolitionists. He was one of that class whose clear minds and penetrative moral

instincts clairvoyantly saw without the least fanaticism the gigantic proportions of the despotic power of American slavery. He saw with an almost prophetic intuition the stupendous atrocities which history has since proved that the monster is capable of perpetrating. He descried the appalling truth to which the great North was almost totally blind, that the matter at stake was not simply Southern slavery, but our own inherited liberties. He saw that the fetters which the black oligarchy were fastening on the Southern slave, had a curse which clamped around the Northern freeman. He saw that the Virginian negro was not more truly sold at the block, than were these free states bargained away at the political shambles by our political auctioneers. He recognized the complicity by which the North was involved in originating, encouraging, and maintaining the system. And knowing the Northern responsibility for the great crime, he asserted, in the most firm and conservative spirit, the right and the duty of the North to speak, to act, and to boldly strike for its limitation and cessation. These are principles that must be written on every heart in these free states. They have been heroically maintained in trying times; they are marching on in proud success; and as sure as a just God rules, they will triumph. Honor, then, to the clear heads, the noble hearts, the unshrinking hands, the martyr spirits, who, in the day of trial, stood at the gates of the moral Thermopylae. Many a lip that once reviled the men will bless their memory; and many a hand that would have raised to defeat their measures, will take up their biography with the pensive confession, "He *was a great man.*" The memory of Lewis has been most worthily honored in this tribute from a filial hand. And this is right;

"For freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeath'd by bleeding SIRE to SON,
Though baffled oft, is ever won."

(14.) "*Autobiography of a Pioneer; or, the Nativity, Experience, Travels, and Ministerial Labors of Rev. JACOB YOUNG, with Incidents, Observations, and Reflections.*" (12mo., pp. 528. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1857.) We imagine that the venerable subject of this memoir ought to have been named John. We should then have had the three great Western Apostles, namely, Peter, the bold, the brave, the impetuous, the unique; James, the man who did not esteem faith valid, unsustained by *works*; and John, the bland, the loving, whom nothing but the Divine unction and a conscious possession of a Divine mission could ever render a son of thunder. Our thanks are due to the venerable Father Young for this book, both as a memorial of himself and as a contribution to the history of the Church. It is furnished with an Introduction from the pen of BISHOP MORRIS.

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travelers. But Mr. Prime's forte seems to lie in imparting to the reader not only a view of the thing as it is, but the various phases of feeling through which the mind of a scholarly, Christian, refined, and truly genial traveler is made to pass. Hence, emphatically, he "carries his reader with him."

(17.) "*Virginia Illustrated*, containing a Visit to the Virginia Canaan, and the Adventures of Porte Crayon and his Cousins. Illustrated from drawings by Porte Crayon." (8vo., pp. 500. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) Porte Crayon is a sunny humorist traveling through the delectable regions of the sunny South with pen and pencil in hand, taking sketches of folks and things, who and which, by previous conspiracy with the Harpers, are exposed to be pleasantly laughed at in the Monthly. Thence they have been transferred to this volume. If you cannot afford to go to Old Virginia, these pages will kindly bring Old Virginia to you.

(18.) "*Sights in Boston and Suburbs*; or, Guide to the Stranger, by R. L. MIDDLETON. Illustrated." (18mo., pp. 225. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co., 1857.) A very interesting and useful volume. *Interesting*, because Boston abounds in pleasant sights; *useful*, because, unless the organ of locality constitute the principal part of your sinciput and occiput too, your cerebrals will be terribly ensnarled in threading the angularities and circumvolutions of Boston travel. We have faith that this little book would furnish much aid to the pilgrim's progress.

(19.) "*History of Rome from the Earliest Times to the Establishment of the Empire*, with Chapters on the History of Literature and Art, by HENRY G. LIDDELL, D. D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. Illustrated by numerous wood-cuts." (12mo., pp. 768. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) This volume blends the scholarly and the popular with perfect success. It may be recommended without reserve to the young reader of history as a part of his studious course. Without being pictorial it is judiciously illustrated with maps and cuts presenting true outlines of ancient countries and objects.

(20.) "*Proceedings and Debates of the Methodist Episcopal General Conference*, held in Indianapolis, 1856." (12mo., pp. 280. Syracuse, N. Y.: H. B. Knight.) The official reporter of the last General Conference has, we believe, never issued any edition of his reports in book form, and this volume therefore contains the only convenient and procurable embodiment of the doings of that memorable session extant. It contains the notes of the regular reporter so far as they extend, with the additions of the voluntary. So far as we can see, it is done in a genial and truthful spirit.

(21.) "*Chile con Carne*; or, the Camp and the Field, by S. COMPTON SMITH, M. D., Acting Surgeon with General Taylor's Division in Mexico." (12mo., pp. 404. New-York: Miller & Curtis, successors to Dix & Edwards, 1857.) A fine looking volume, descriptive of adventures and events in the Mexican War. Its style of narration is spirited, enlivened with lively description, animated dialogue, and stirring vicissitudes.

III.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(22.) "*Fashionable Amusements*: with a Review of Dr. Bellows's Lecture on the Theater, by Rev. D. R. THOMASON," (12mo., pp. 230. New-York: M. W. Dodd.) This is the third edition of a book on a trite subject, yet of increasing interest. Whether this increasing interest is sustained by a laudable desire for the good, or is the result of restlessness under proper restraints, is somewhat doubtful. The book is divided into four chapters besides the Preliminary and Concluding one, on the Theater, Card Playing, Dancing, and Novel Reading. The point of special interest at the present time, is the chapter on the Theater. Dr. Bellows has certainly succeeded in calling general attention to the stage by his late advocacy of it. The only two aspects under which this subject can be advantageously discussed are, what the stage is at present, and what it can probably be made. It is not denied, even by Dr. Bellows, that, as it now is, it is deleterious. This point is well presented in the book, under this question, "What is the moral tendency of theatrical amusements as they are now conducted?" The other question, "What can they probably be made?" contains the only hope for the theater. Its beneficial result rests entirely upon its reformation. Dr. Bellows thinks that the presence of a corporal's guard of the good and the wise at each theater, would be quite sufficient to purify the fountain of corruption. Mr. Thomason replies to this scheme of reformation as follows:

"The reverend lecturer knows little of the theater, if he supposes that its improprieties are mere accidents or the effect of simple causes—evils which have crept in inadvertently—that they lie lightly on the surface, and have only to be pointed out as exceptionable to be at once removed. On the contrary, these are corruptions which lie deeply buried. Disguise it as the advocates of the theater may, even from themselves, the fact is indisputable that the gratifications which are found within its walls not only minister, but are meant to minister to a corrupt heart and depraved taste. They are meant to lower the standard of virtue and to shift its land marks. They are covertly designed to blunt the religious sensibilities of the soul; to deaden the conscience; to rob modesty of its delicate sensitiveness; to move the grosser passions, and provoke sensuality."

This is well said, and in view of it to reform the theater would be to destroy it.

And yet Mr. Thomason has his theatrical theory as well as Dr. Bellows, which he fondly hopes "opens a vista, perhaps, (?) to the sober and practical eye." It is this; a people's theater, owned, controlled, endowed, and attended by Christian men. The scenery oriental, and the characters Scriptural. And to fill up the programme for such a theater, our Christian bishops and venerable fathers, and the young men and maidens of our Spiritual Israel, must tread the boards to represent Peter, and Paul, and Timothy, and Titus, and Saul, and David, and Solomon, and Miriam, and Deborah, and Queen Esther, and the Virgin Mary, etc.

But why did it not occur to Mr. Thomason that such theatrical experiments are historical; having been established and practiced under the sanction of Holy Mother Church, in all her infallibility? Yea, it is still practiced every Holy Week, in all papal countries. And these exhibitions are adapted, too, "to persons of an unintellectual character, of a phlegmatic habit, little accustomed to efforts of thought," the very persons Mr. Thomason hopes to benefit; but the advantages have never been developed; or why did not the

recent tragical representations of the "crucifixion of Christ" and the "Prodigal Son" by Keller's troop occur to him? The experiment has been made, and the tendency downward and debasing, and we doubt whether, with all the guards that could be thrown around theatrical amusements, it would not ever be so. And to the question of Mr. Thomason, "Would it be lawful and desirable to have such a theater?" all past history gives a negative answer.

The remaining chapters contain sound advice, which should be received and practiced by every Christian family. The important truth that the enjoyment of religion is incompatible with a love for worldly pleasure is pressed upon the conscience. Here is the danger of many Christian families and individuals at the present time; they love, they sanction worldly pleasures. They go just as far as they can without coming into open conflict with their religious obligations as Church-members.

Dr. Chalmers says, on this point of Christians sanctioning convivial and worldly assemblies:

"It is not for him to lend the sanction of his presence to a meeting with which he could not sit till its final termination. It is not for him to stand associated, for a single hour, with an assembly of men who begin with hypocrisy and end with downright blackguardism. It is not for him to watch the progress of coming ribaldry, and to hit the well-selected moment, when talk and turbulence and boisterous merriment are on the eve of bursting forth upon the company, and carrying them forward to the full acme and uproar of enjoyment. It is in vain to say he has sanctioned only a part of such an entertainment; he has as good as given his connivance to the whole of it; and left behind him a discharge in full of all its abominations, and therefore, be they who they may, it is his part to keep as purely and indignantly aloof from such society as this, as he would from the vilest and most debasing associations of profligacy."

A timely warning this, we think, to be sounded in the ears of church-members at the present day.

L.

(23.) "*America and Europe*, by ADAM G. DE GUROWSKI." (12mo., pp. 411. New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1857.) "To see ourselves as others see us," is often the object of individual desire; for, in spite of the authority claimed by metaphysicians for self-consciousness, others often know us better than we know ourselves. And since destiny is often done up in the character, we may trace the image of our future as well as our present in the mirror of other's true and just opinion. So we thank Mr. Gurowski for presenting this most calm, penetrative, and genial picture of our national being. Since the great work of De Tocqueville, we have received no analysis exhibiting on every page the keen-sighted observer whose mind submits itself to the just impression of things as they are, the true philosopher exhibiting no parade of philosophy. Comparative philology, comparative meteorology, comparative anatomy, are sciences which the new-born means of extensive observation have brought into existence with already brilliant results; and works like this on what may be called comparative demology, or the science of peoples, as compared with each other on a clear broad view, though less capable of absolute accuracy, cannot fail to evolve an immense number of valuable conclusions.

Mr. Gurowski opens with a chapter upon races, in which he maintains that far less of the progress and pre-eminence of a people depend upon the

race or the latitude than has been supposed. Great empires, like Egypt and Ethiopia, have existed in Africa ; a rich literature flourishes in Iceland. The silken Italian, the offspring of the iron Roman and the conquering Goth, exists a slave on the very ground where his fathers ruled the world. Both the races and the localities of all the great ancient empires demonstrate by their present condition, as well as their past varieties, that empire does not depend upon blood or latitude.

In his second chapter he analyzes the characteristics of our nation, and finds a peculiar blending of feverish excitability with a phlegmatic immobility. Thence, in a third chapter, treating upon Democracy, he takes special pains to separate the partisan abuse from the philosophic use of the word, and traces a number of points in which our nation (the free states) realizes the high demands of self-government implied in the word.

His fifth chapter, of some sixty pages, is upon Slavery. It is well worthy the perusal of calm thinkers of all parties. He has derived none of his views from the publications of American abolitionists. He gives what may be considered the views of the enlightened Liberalists of Europe upon this subject. It is the voice of Democratic Europe to Democratic America.

Then follows a chapter on Manifest Destiny, in which he shows how cheaply and bloodlessly our institutions may be spread over our continent, and how unnecessary are filibuster and maraud to the Anglo-Saxon predominance in America.

The remaining topics are Foreign Elements, Education of the People, The Press, The Pulpit, The American Mind, Customs, Country, and City.

On all these subjects Mr. Gurowski furnishes the views of a discriminating, independent, yet most friendly thinker. On some topics he is eminently shrewd and piquant. His book is a study well worthy to occupy a few hours of every thoughtful well-wisher to his country and his kind.

(24.) "*Public Addresses, Collegiate and Popular*, by D. D. WHEDON, D. D." (12mo., pp. 174. New-York : Carlton & Porter.) These addresses were printed, rather than published, some years ago, and the first attempt seems now to be made to circulate the small remainder of a single edition. The author never saw the proof sheets ; the order of the addresses was consequently deranged, a publication correspondence is unsuitably inserted, and the whole is so incorrectly done that we would thank the reader who may find anything absurd, untrue, or heterodox, to charge it to the unknown printer.

We hope, however, for the sake of the principles contained, (having no pecuniary interest in the matter,) that the "Man-Republic" and the "Christian Citizen's Political Duties," will be very extensively read. They were written years ago ; but time has only served to verify the truth of the earnest utterances therein expressed.

IV.—*Education and Juvenile.*

(25.) "*Brief Longhand*, a System of Longhand Contractions, by means of which the Principal Advantages of Shorthand are secured without Resort to Stenographic Characters, and with Perfect Legibility, by ANDREW J.

GRAHAM, Conductor of the Phonetic Academy, and Author of the Reporter's Manual and Handbook of Standard Phonography." (12mo., pp. 88. New-York: A. J. Graham, 1857.) Mr. Graham is an eminent practical reporter of this city, who, besides his labor in that profession, finds time for singularly keen investigations in the phonetic and graphic arts. His publications in phonography are remarkable for beauty, as well as originality in improvements, which, but for the inconveniences of change, may be valuable.

But here is a new thing, namely, a scheme for writing by skillfull abbreviations with nearly the rapidity of short hand. Those who have not the time to learn the beautiful art of phonography may acquire this method with very little difficulty. To those who have to write much it may save some hours a day, and it may be the means of introducing gradually into general use a few recognized abbreviations that may reduce the labor and time of writing.

Mr. Graham has invented three successive degrees of contraction. The first and least contracted style is intended for correspondence; but is, perhaps, as abbreviated a form as most persons will adopt for any purpose except reporting. Editors and authors may put this little volume into the hands of their compositors, and save perhaps a large amount of time, by a system of shortening thus mutually understood.

(26.) "A New System of Shorthand, without Stenographic Characters." (18mo., pp. 8.) Since writing the above notice we have received this little primer, which bears the name neither of publisher nor author, but is really produced by a gentleman who, in more senses than one, yields the pen of a ready writer, Dr. STRICKLAND. Without claiming to be founded in so deep a science as that of Mr. Graham, it is, perhaps, as easily learned and practically as advantageous.

(27.) "The Orations of Demosthenes on the Crown and on the Embassy. Translated with Notes, etc., by CHARLES RAUN KENNEDY, in two vols." (Vol. ii, 12mo., pp. 418. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) Another Harper-Bohn. The last we noticed gave us the dramatist of the Athenian Democracy, this gives us the orator of the Democracy. The volume contains his two great struggles with Æschines, the Oration on the Crown, and the Oration on the Embassy. The former is the great masterpiece of ancient oratory. Mr. Kennedy has furnished ample prologemena, notes, and appendices, to render his translation the best Saxon substitute for the incomparable Greek.

(28.) "The Polylingual Journal; a Magazine in Five Languages, French, Spanish, Italian, German, and English. August, 1857. Hiram C. Sparks Editor and Proprietor, 335 Broadway, New-York." (4to., pp. 51. Published Quarterly.) A very handsome periodical, furnishing a very pleasant mode of exercise in modern languages to those learners who dislike the task of referring to the dictionary for every new word. A thorough training in the principles of the French is appended in the Supplement of the number.

(29.) "Mercantile Library Association of the City of New-York: Thirtysixth Annual Report. With the Report of the Clinton Hall Association."

(12mo., pp. 48. New-York : Baker & Godwin, printers, 1857.) The report of this institution gives token of its abundant prosperity and usefulness. It has nearly forty-nine thousand well-selected volumes. More than fifteen hundred have been added the past year. To the library are attached an extensive reading room, cabinet, scholarships, lectureships, and classes of instruction. Its noble foundation, liberal arrangements, and judicious management, render it one of the ornaments and utilities of our metropolis.

(30.) "A Manual of Ancient Geography, by LEONARD SCHMITZ, F. R. S. E., Rector of the High School, Edinburgh." (12mo., pp. 428. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lee, 1857.) A handsome manual from the hand of a master, well executed by the publishers. We have expressed our earnest opinion of the importance of a proper course of ancient geography for all our scholars in the classical course. This manual is admirably adapted for the purpose of class instruction, and we recommend it to the attention of teachers and professors in the proper department.

ART. XIII.—LITERARY ITEMS.

Carlton & Porter have in press *The True Woman*, by Rev. J. T. Peck, D. D., a work for which we expect no ordinary success; and *The Harmony of the Divine Dispensations*, by George Smith, author of "*Sacred Annals*" and other able works. The present work possesses peculiar value from the skillful use which the author has made of the late discoveries of Oriental travelers and investigators.

Rev. J. B. Wakeley has a work ready for the press with this unique title, "*Lost Chapters Recovered in the Early History of American Methodism*." This volume will throw light on the early history of Methodism in this country. We have seen the old lost volume which is the basis of the work, and the materials it contains are rich and rare. It introduces us to Philip Embury, Captain Webb, Joseph Pilmoor, and other distinguished men. Its records extend from 1768 to 1796. It corrects the error which many have fallen into, who have written of Methodism in New-York during the Revolution. We have been told that the old Church in John-street was closed and used for barracks during that period. This is an historical error. The old volume introduces us to their pastor, who was with them five years during the revolution. The new book will be splendidly illustrated. It will contain a new steel engraving of the old "Wesley

Chapel" and parsonage; a likeness, from an original painting, of the old colored sexton, who was quite a character; also a view of Philip Embury's "own hired house," in which the first Methodist sermon in New-York was preached. A sketch of the old trustees, and a fac-simile of their handwriting, and of the handwriting of most of the preachers who laid the foundation of early Methodism in America, is given. Many original letters, throwing light on the subject, will be introduced.

Among the late publications we may note the following :

Three Introductory Lectures on the Study of Ecclesiastical History, by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley.

Ezekiel's Temple; its Design Unfolded, its Architecture Displayed, and the Subjects connected with it Discussed, by Rev. H. S. Warleigh, Chaplain of Parkhurst Prison. Mr. Warleigh ably maintains that the details of Ezekiel's Temple were given for the literal rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, and he maintains that the plan given by the prophet was actually for a time followed.

The Song of Songs; translated from the original Hebrew, with a Commentary, Historical and Critical, by Christian D. Ginsburg. London: Longmans. This is said to be an able work. It supposes the purpose of the book to be "the re-

cording an example of virtue in a young woman who encountered and conquered the greatest temptation, and was eventually rewarded."

Christian Faith and the Atonement; Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in reference to the views of Mr. Jowett and others, by Dr. Pusey, the Bishop of Oxford, and others.

Prizes for essays on a Reform in the spelling of the English Language, two in number, of £100 and £40 respectively, are offered in England. The offer extends to America, and the essay must be sent, post paid, to Sir W. C. Trevelyan, Bart., Wallington, Newcastle-on-Tyne, by March, 1858. Adjudicators, A. J. Ellis, Esq., B. A., Edinburgh; Professors Gregory and Latham; Professor Max Muller, of Oxford; Isaac Pitman, the inventor of Phonography, and Sir W. C. Trevelyan.

English spelling seems to be retreating

in England as well as in America into the category of "the lost arts." The board of Civil Service Examiners, whose business it is to examine candidates for official life, report that "out of sixty-six, sons of noblemen and gentlemen, who were rejected, forty-four were for incapacity to spell their own language." "Grievances" was spelled seven different ways without hitting the right one. "Mediterranean" was murdered fourteen ways.

The remedy proposed by the English papers is a more rigid drill in spelling, so as to reduce the brain of the English youth to the due degree of stultification required by the anomalies and absurdities of the English (so-called) orthography. Does not common sense hint that a better way would be to reduce the orthography itself to rationality? Would not a national evil justify some attempt toward a national remedy?

ART. XIV.—EDITORIAL NOTES.

OUR Sabbath Schools, in which to a great degree is embraced "the Church of the future," find fitting advocate in the first article of our present number.

Our chapter of Foreign Religious Intelligence has (we think it generally allowed) assumed the material excellence of a cotemporaneous history in that department. It is right that the credit should be assigned to the true author, Professor SCHEM, of Dickinson College.

In our next number we shall furnish the first installment of a history of the Anti-slavery Contest in England, which resulted in the abolition of the slave-trade and the emancipation of the slaves of the West India Islands, and especially the share taken by Mr. Wesley, and the English Methodists, in that noble agitation. The articles are furnished by a writer whose name was conspicuous in some part of the transactions and in the parliamentary debates of the times.

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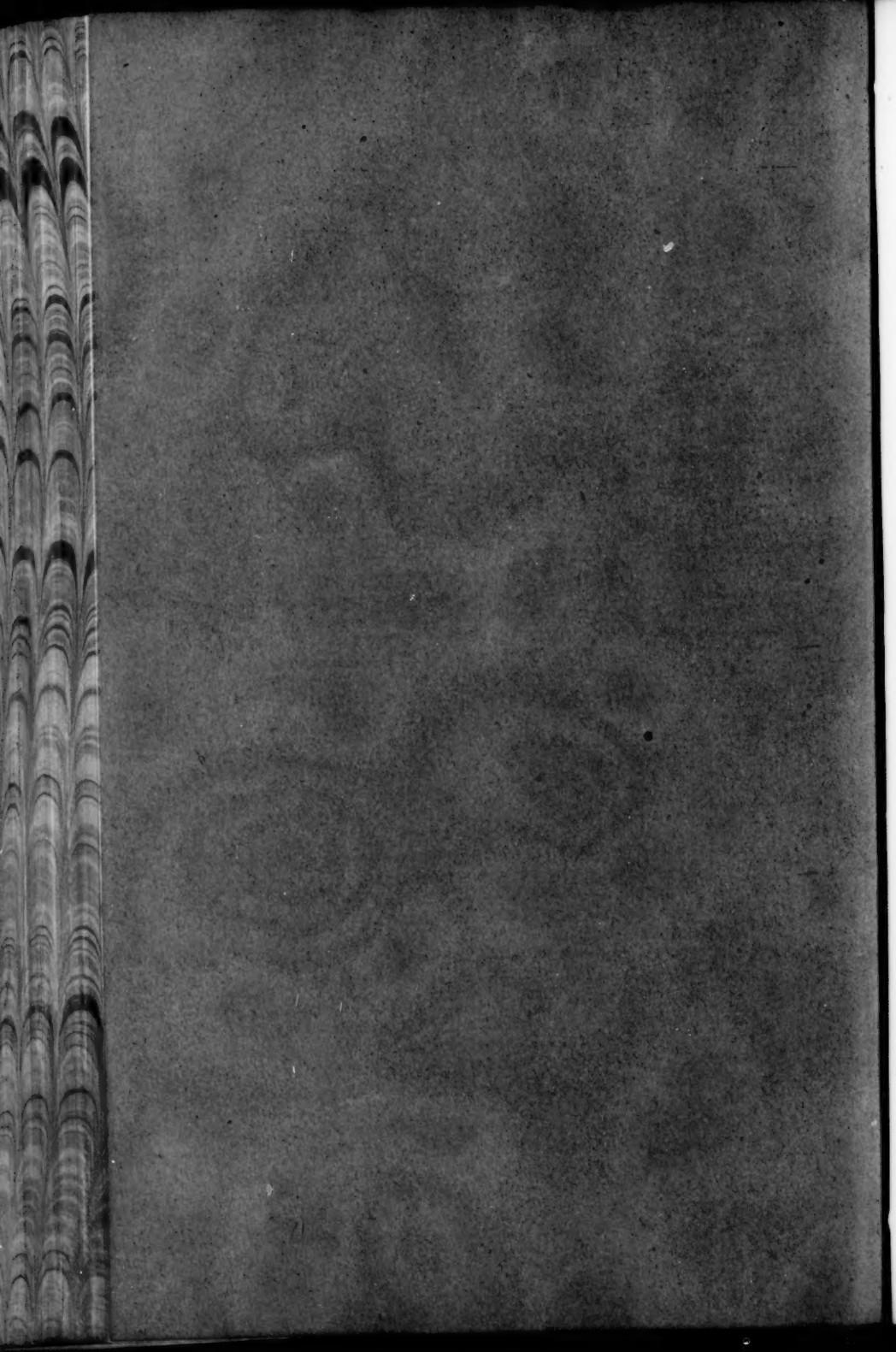
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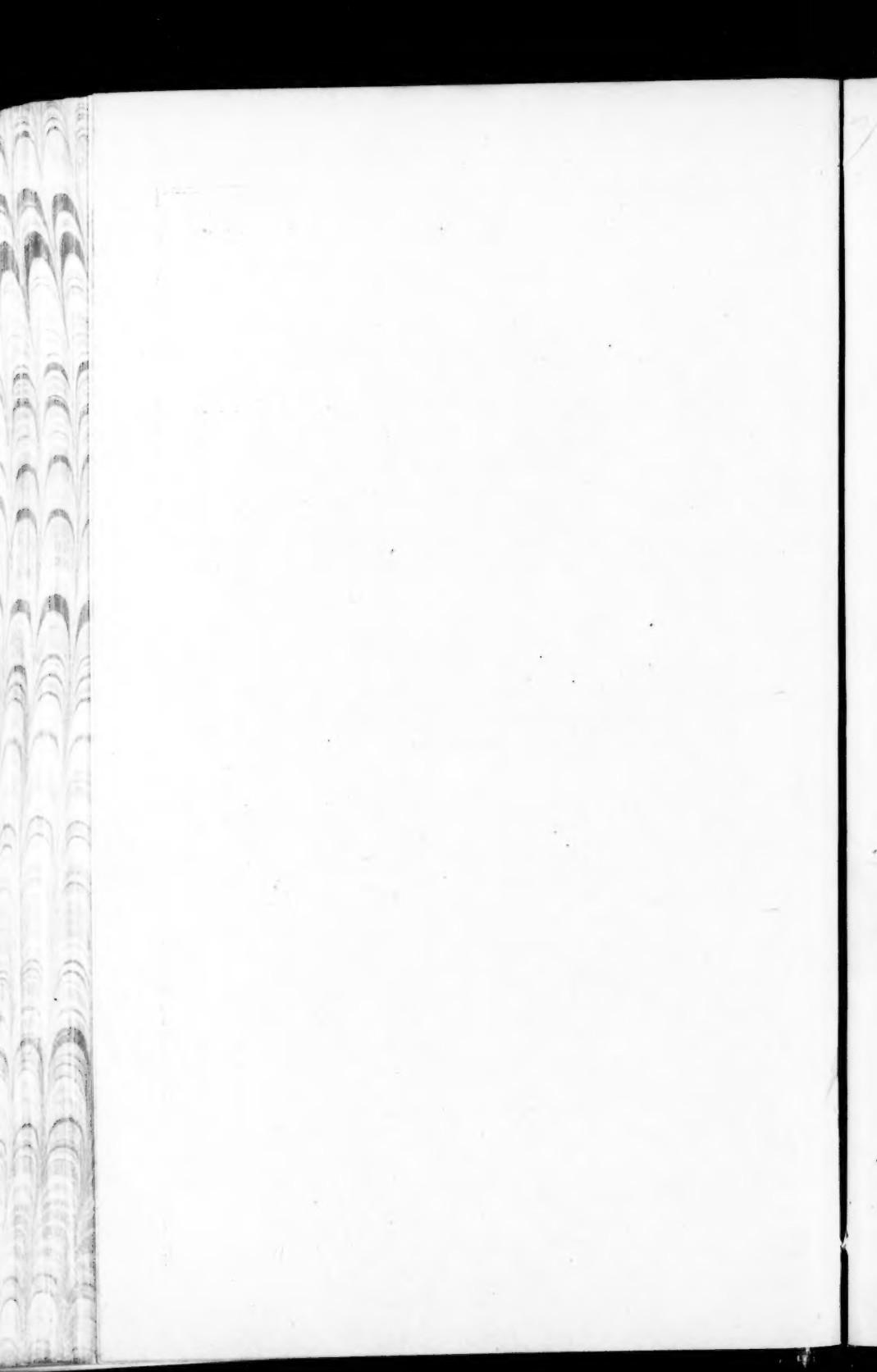
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D. D. WHEDON, D. D., EDITOR.
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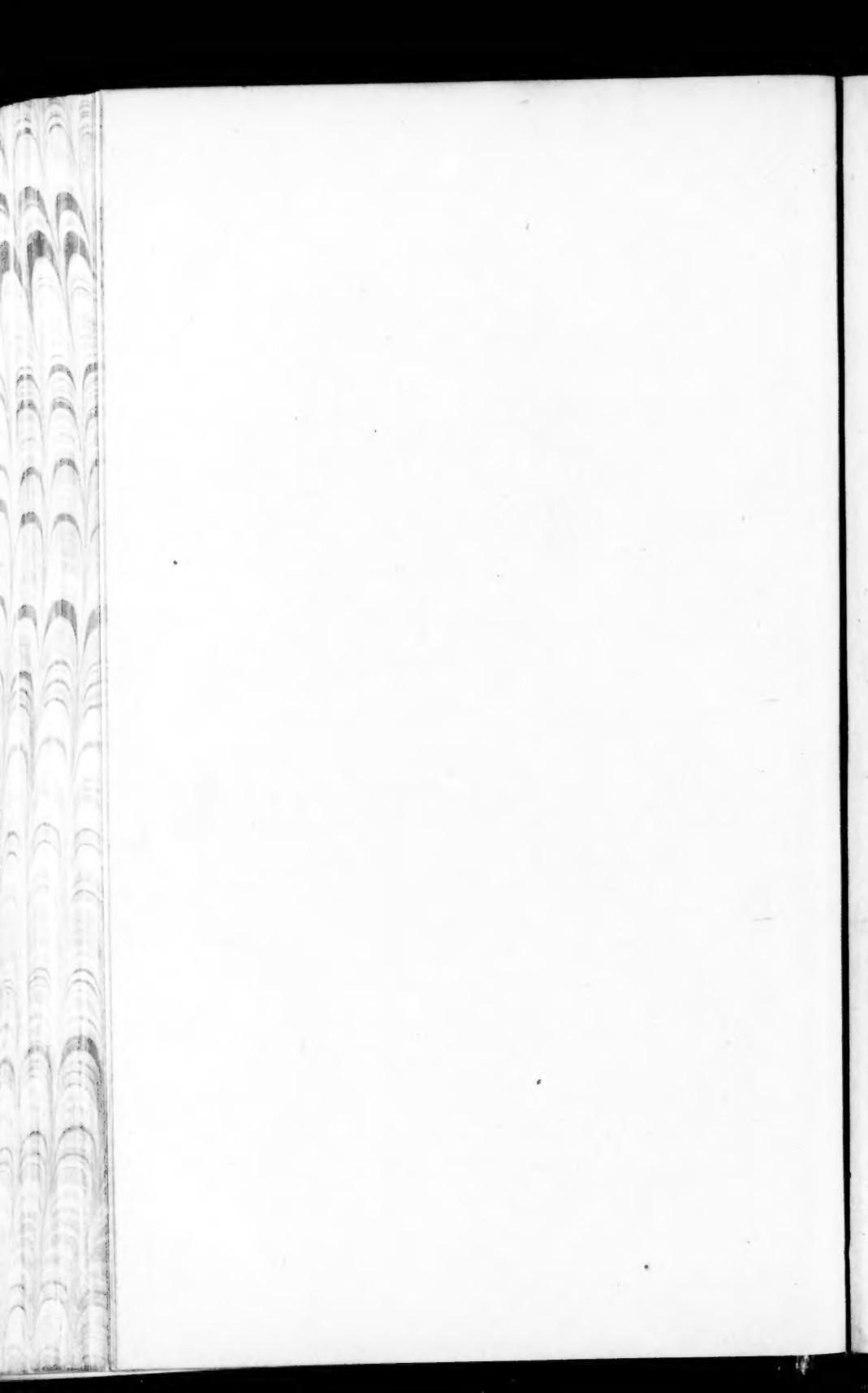
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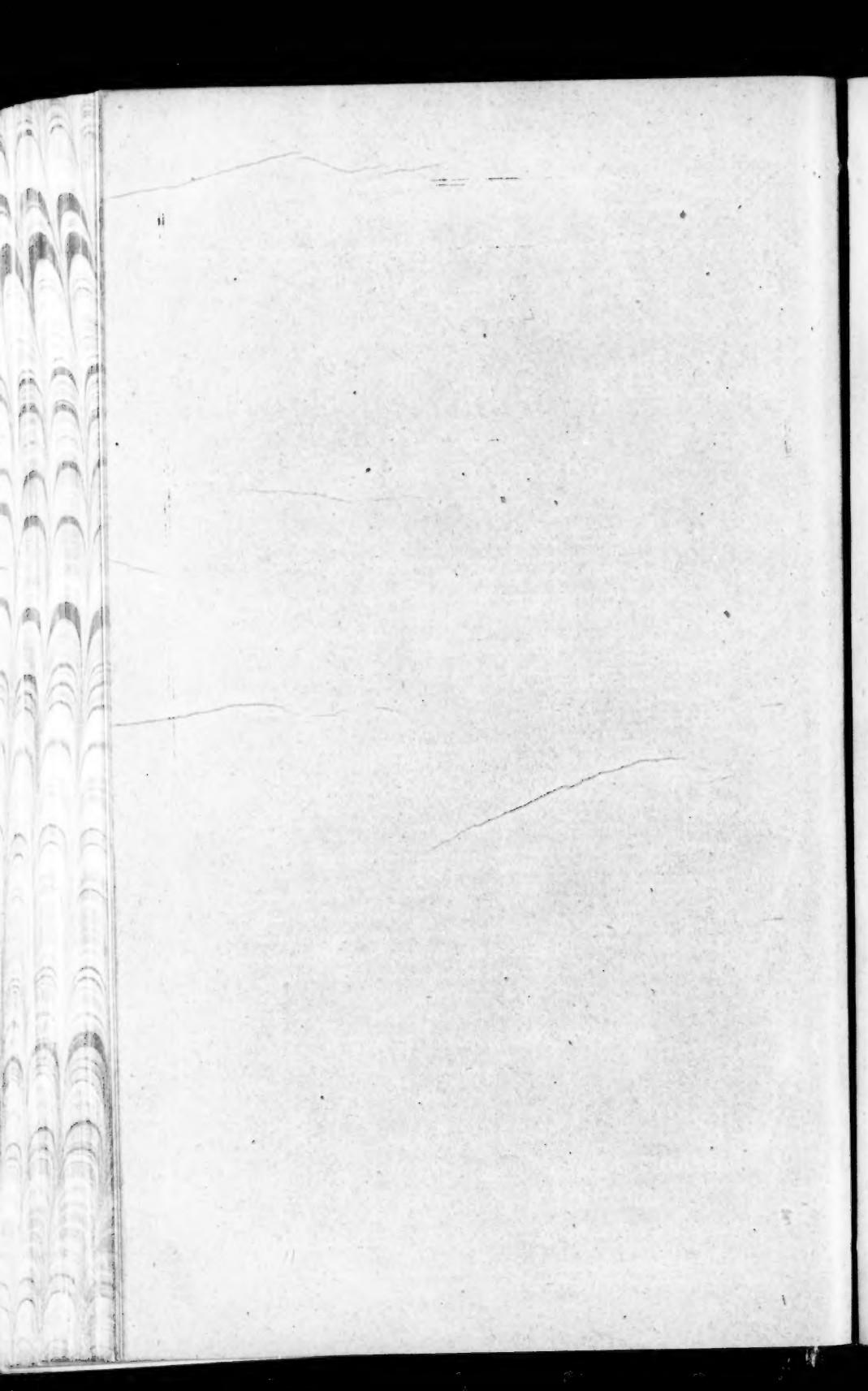
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